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THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

VOLUME THE SIXTH:

CONTAINING

LIFE OF MR. WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, DEAN OF DURHAM, FROM A MS. IN ANTONY WOOD'S COLLECTION, BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL'S DEFENCE OF HIS NEGOTIATIONS IN SPAIN. FROM MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

JOURNAL OF SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM FROM DECEMBER 1570 TO APRIL 1583. FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF LIEUT.-COLONEL CAREW.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXXI.

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LIFE

OF

MR. WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM,

DEAN OF DURHAM,

FROM A MS. IN ANTONY WOOD'S COLLECTION, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

WITH

AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE RECORD OFFICE.

EDITED

BY MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXX.

NOTICE.

The following sketch of the Life of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, is from a MS., formerly in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, marked Wood MSS. No. 8650, E. 4, Art. 5, now in the Bodleian, marked Wood, E. 64, Art. 5. It is in the handwriting of Anthony Wood, in a volume of biographies collected by him for his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. It is evidently a copy of an earlier MS. because the marginal notes (see p. 1, note 1, p. 2, note 1, and p. 7, note 3), are in the same hand as the rest of the MS., and yet not written by the author of the Life.

The only clue to the authorship is that the writer was in 1576 a student at the Temple; that he frequented Court; and that he had access—then rarely granted to men in an unofficial position—to the State Papers of the period. We may therefore presume that he was secretary or under-secretary to Lord Burghley, or his son Sir Robert Cecil, probably the latter, since the most probable date of the Life is 1603, just after the accession of James I. The manner in which the writer speaks of Queen Elizabeth (p. 10) shows that it cannot have been written during her life, and yet it seems likely that it was written before the Hampton Court religious controversy of January, 1604, or else this controversy would probably have been alluded to. An expression on p. 36 also, speaking of the transactions recorded as happening "so long

since," indicates a considerable lapse of time after Whittingham's death in 1579.

In the annotations, &c. of the MS., I am indebted for valuable assistance to the Rev. Alfred Hackman of Oxford, who has also kindly collated the proofs with the MS.; to the Rev. Canon Raine of York; and also to the Rev. Dr. Farrar, of Durham, for ecclesiastical as well as local information.

M. A. E. G.

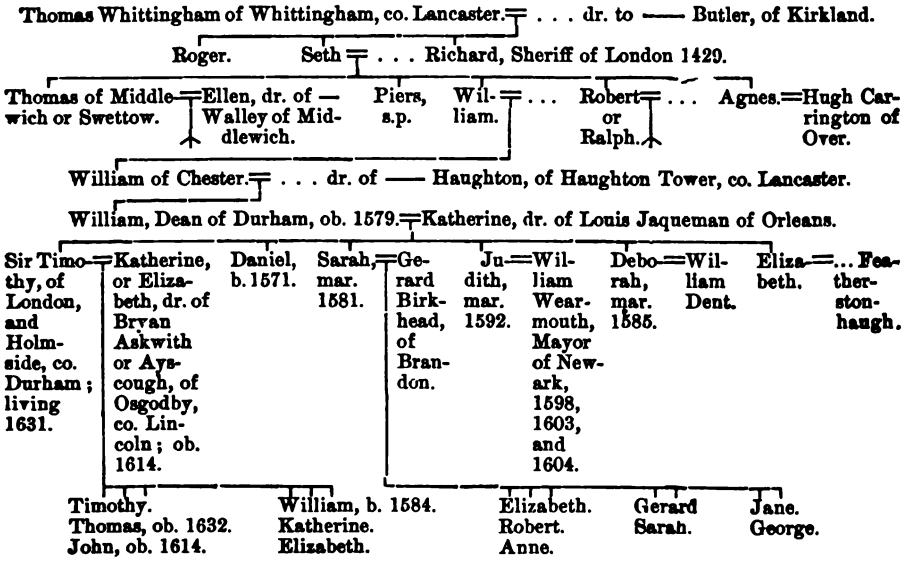
100, Gower Street,
November 17th, 1870.

The Life and Death of Mr. William Whittingham, Deane of Durham, who departed this life Anno Domini 1579, June 10.[1]

He was born in Westchester, and descended from Whittingham, of the house of Whittingham in Lancashire, neare Preston, which Whittingham did marry the daughter of Haughton, of Haughton Towre, in the same county.[2] He became a scholler in the 16. year of

[1] In margin of MS.: "This seems to have been written by a *Calvinist*." The term *Calvinist* here, doubtless, is synonymous with Puritan, a favourer of the Geneva principles, and does not allude merely to the Predestinarian controversy, which, since the Quinquarticular controversy of James the First's time, has been usually the idea connected with the name *Calvinist*.

[2] The pedigree of the family, as compiled from Harl. MS. 1535, f. 297 *b*, the will of Whittingham, Surtees, Durham, vol. ii. pp. 315, 326, 330, &c., is as follows:


Thomas Whittingham of Whittingham, co. Lancaster. = . . . dr. to —— Butler, of Kirkland.
Roger.
Seth = . . . Richard, Sheriff of London 1429.
Thomas of Middlewich or Swettow.
Ellen, dr. of — Walley of Middlewich.
Piers, s.p.
William. = . . .
Robert or Ralph. = . . .
Agnes. = Hugh Carrington of Over.
William of Chester. = . . . dr. of —— Haughton, of Haughton Tower, co. Lancaster.
William, Dean of Durham, ob. 1579. = Katherine, dr. of Louis Jaqueman of Orleans.
Sir Timothy, of London, and Holmside, co. Durham; living 1631.
Katherine, or Elizabeth, dr. of Bryan Askwith or Ayscough, of Osgodby, co. Lincoln; ob. 1614.
Daniel, b. 1571.
Sarah, mar. 1581.
Gerard Birkhead, of Brandon.
Judith, mar. 1592.
William Wearmouth, Mayor of Newark, 1598, 1603, and 1604.
Deborah, mar. 1585.
William Dent.
Elizabeth.
... Featherstonhaugh.
Timothy.
Thomas, ob. 1632.
John, ob. 1614.
William, b. 1584.
Katherine.
Elizabeth.
Elizabeth.
Robert.
Anne.
Gerard
Sarah.
Jane.
George.

Surtees continues the Pedigree down to 1724.—*History of Durham*, vol. i. p. 330.

his age at Oxon,[1] first of Brasen nose College, where he was under a tutor soe carefull over him to further him in learning as he hath bene often heard to bemoane that his tutor lived not till he was able to requite him for his care and love towards him. From that college he went to Allsoules college, where he was chosen fellow-probationer 1545. From thence he became a fellow of Cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxon,[2] where, after he had remained a few years, he betooke himselfe to travell,[3] with purpose to travell through France, and soe into Italie; but coming to Lyons in France, in his way towards Italy, it pleased God to visit him with sicknesse, which he tooke to be a warning to cause him to alter his purpose, and to divert his course from that country, from which few returne the godlier; and soe, comming back againe, he remayned for divers years in Orleance,[4] sometimes in Paris, but ever amongst the students in the Universities of those cityes.

In Paris, when the Lieger Ambassador for England[5] was to goe to the Court, he ever desired Mr. Whittingham to accompany him, for which purpose he had his courtly apparel and ornaments lying

[1] Circa an. 1536. Marg. note in MS. The date of his birth given by general biographers is 1524, at the city of Chester; but if this marginal date be correct, it must have been 1520.

[2] Or Student, more strictly speaking, a Student in Christ Church being equivalent to a Fellow in other colleges. It is noticeable that the writer still retains the primary name of the college, Wolsey's, although Henry VIII., after the confiscation of Wolsey's property, usurped the right of being called founder, and altered the name, first in 1532 to King Henry VIII.'s college, and after, in 1546, when it became a cathedral, to that of Christ Church of the foundation of Henry VIII.—Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*, vol. i. pp. 44, 46.

[3] His licence bears date 17 May, 1550.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 446.

[4] During his residence in Orleans, he married Catherine, daughter of Lewis Jaqueman, and sister to the wife of John Calvin the reformer, but the date of the marriage is uncertain. Her mother was daughter and heir of Gouteron, lord of Inguir and Turvyle, near Orleans.—*Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 447.

[5] Dr. Nich. Wotton, Dean of York and Canterbury, was the English resident in France up to the spring of 1550. He was succeeded by Sir John Mason, who remained till July 1551, when Sir William Pickering was appointed, and remained till nearly the close of Edward VI.'s reign.

by him, which at his going to Court he used, and at his returne became *ut prius* as a student.

After some years bestowed in those universities, he went to the universities of Germany, and thence to Geneva; and thence, having spent all King Edward the Sixth's raigne in those transmarine universities, returned into England in the very latter end of the said King Edward his raigne. Presently after whose death, Queen Mary being proclamed, and a tast given of the alteration of religion, he forthwith resolved to goe againe beyond the seas,[1] and riding over London bridge in his way to Dover, and thence to take shipping, he mett Mr. Hard-

[1] Before deciding to leave the country, he had made an effort to obtain toleration for his party, as recorded in the following letter from Julius Terentianus to John ab Ulmis, dated Strasburgh, Nov. 20, 1553: "Master Peter Martyr is forbidden to leave his house; and Sidall, a truly excellent man, is ordered to guard against his running away; and thus master Peter has had his own house made a prison of these six weeks. But I, perceiving that the danger was manifest, went to London, to seek assistance from my friends. They were now reduced to a very small number, and were so far from being able to assist us, that they were exposed to the greatest peril themselves. Whittingham and I conceive the project of presenting a petition to the Queen and Council, in which we embrace the entire circumstances of master Peter; how he had been invited over from Strasburgh by the deceased King, and had been recalled by the magistrates of Strasburgh during the last year, but that the King would not give him licence to depart; that the correspondence relative to all these facts was in the royal archives; and that moreover many of the Council could bear abundant testimony to their truth. We added that master Peter had committed no offence either against the Queen or the laws of the realm; that, if his enemies chose to bring any charge against him, he was prepared to meet it; that he now perceived that the Queen had no longer occasion for his services, and therefore he petitioned her for a licence to enable him to leave the kingdom.

"Whittingham and I proceed to Richmond; he presents the petition respecting Peter to the secretary, who, as is customary, lays it on the Council table, and bids us wait. On that day nothing was done; we are ordered to come again on the morrow; we are there at the hour appointed, but still nothing is done. We feel at last that we are imposed upon. We agree therefore among ourselves, that Whittingham should return to Oxford, and remain with master Peter, for he was now almost entirely by himself, since every one, except only Sidall and master Haddon, had withdrawn from his society. As to me, I remain in London, to make what interest I can.

"At length Whittingham returns after some days: we both of us wait upon [Sir

ing[1] (who wrote against Jewell) on the bridge; who, after salutations, asked him whether he was agoing; Mr. Whittingham answered that he was going beyond the seas. Mr. Harding demanded of him the cause; he answered, "Did you not heare the proclamation,[2] and how the whore of Roome is againe erected amongst us?" To which Mr. Harding replied, "Happy are you that goe for soe good a cause."

Mr. Whittingham and his company comming to Dover at night, whilst they were at supper, the hoast of the house told his ghuests that after supper he must carrie them before the magistrate or major of the towne to be questioned concerning the cause or errand of their going beyond the sea, for the magistrate had received strickt command from the Councell for the examination of every passinger, and Mr. Maior had as stricktly enjoyned them (the inkepers) to bring their ghuests to be examined as aforesaid, (wherin the hoast seemed to be more preremptory and precise;) it made his news the more distastfull, and in parte vex his ghuests.

Whilest they were in this anxietie, there being a faire grayhound waiting on the table for releife, Mr. Whittingham chanced to say, "Mine hoast, you have here a very fayre greyhound;" "I," said the hoast, "this greyhound is a fair greyhound indeed, and is of the Queen's kind." "Queen's kind?" said Mr. Whittingham, "what

John] Mason, who at first declined interposing in so disagreeable a case, and said that he was altogether out of favour: afterwards however he was urgent that master Peter might be allowed to come to London, and plead his cause before the Council. He obtains his request, and we have moreover permission to remove all our goods." —*Zurich Letters*, vol. i. pp. 369-370, published by the Parker Society.

[1] Thomas Harding, the well-known controversialist, opponent of Bishop Jewell. He was Hebrew professor at Oxford, 1542—1548; prebendary of Winchester, 1554; deprived by Queen Elizabeth, and died at Louvain, 1572.

[2] This proclamation, dated August 17, 1553, is preserved in the Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Mary, vol. i. No. 7. It exhorts all subjects to observe "the service of God agreable to God's word and the primitive Church:" but permitting them to obey existing laws until repealed; exhorting them not to use the "devilish terms of Papist or Heretic;" and forbidding all preaching or public reading of religious books, without licence of the Queen.

meane you by that? This is a strang speech; what good subject can endure to heare suche words of his soveraigne, to have her Majestie to be compared in kind with the kind of a dogg?" and said that the words were very treasonable, and that he could not see how they could be excused if they should not goe and acquainte the magistrate with it; and did further soe aggravate the matter, even of purpose, as they did drive the hoast into such a fear as he durst not once mention the carrying of *them* before the magistrate any more, but was glad to be soe freed from their incumbrance. By this meanes, all the company escaping this interruption, they proceeded on their journey.

And Mr. Whittingham remained in France till he heard of the coming of sundry English Bishops,[1] divines and other good Protestants, who for religion had left their country, and were arrived at Frankford, where after a while, they getting licence of the magistrate to establish a church there, and entring into consideration of the particular formes and order of discipline to be used in that church, they did soe farre vary and dissent among themselves as, after long contentions, noe accord could be made between them,[2] but were forced to disjoyne, and those to remayne at Frankford that

[1] The Bishops deprived by Mary, beside Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer burnt, were William Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Scory, Bishop of Chichester; Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; John Harley, Bishop of Hereford; John Tailour, Bishop of Lincoln; John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester; and John Bird, Bishop of Chester. Paul Bushe, Bishop of Bristol, and John Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, resigned.

[2] On the subject of these disputes, Whittingham thus writes to Calvin:—

"The occasion that ought to bring us the greatest comfort from your most important letter has, in a manner, thrown us into the greatest anxiety and distress. For when there seemed likely to be no end to such noisy contentions, and on that account it was ordered by the magistrate that we should comply with all the rites of the French church, (unless there should happen to be anything that might justly be found fault with), this circumstance so much offended some parties that, leaving the contest about ceremonies, they betook themselves to forensic accusation. For Master Knox, being most unjustly charged before the magistrate with high treason, has been ordered to quit the place, not without the regret of all good men, and even of the magistrate himself.

did best like the formes of the goverment of the church of England in the dayes of King Edward VI., and those that liked better of the order and discipline of the church of Geneva did goe to Geneva, amongst whome Mr. Whittingham was one.[1] Of which controversie,[2] though here be good occasion given to particulate, yet

"He is therefore on his way to you, and will explain the whole matter in order. This only I can speak from experience, that nothing ever occasioned greater distress and shame to good men than this wickedness has done; but I cannot now relate these things by reason of my grief, and he will himself explain them better and more fully in person, as well as all other matters, of which I will describe the progress and result more at length after the fair.

"Farewell in Christ, and with your wonted affection, aid us by your prayers and counsel. WILL. WHITTINGHAM.

"Frankfort, March 25, 1555."

Zurich Letters, vol. ii. p. 764, published by the Parker Society. See also Strype's *Grindal*, p. 15; *Annals of Reformation*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 152.

[1] This was about Sept. 1555. Shortly before his departure he wrote the following letter to Calvin:

"Supposing that this letter will scarcely reach you much sooner than I shall arrive myself, I do not write so fully as the subject itself requires, and as I could wish; for I have sent off all my baggage, and am hastening to you as speedily as possible.

"With respect to those who are at Basle, we are in hopes that, after a mutual conference, they, together with us, will both enjoy your valuable assistance, and not only rejoice in that divine benefit, but will embrace and cherish it. I shall very soon, I hope, converse with you in person about your letter to our friends, and our own departure, and other matters.

"Master St. Andrew has zealously conducted himself here, and to the great and common benefit of the churches. Master John à Glauberg has made honourable mention of you, as he ought to do, and requests me to salute you most diligently in his name, as, being at this time especially engaged in a multitude of affairs, he is unable to write to you. All our friends salute you, reverence, and most deservedly esteem you.

"May Almighty God very long preserve you, both to His own glory and the common comfort both of ourselves and all others. Frankfort, Sept. 21.

"Your disciple,

"W. WHITTINGHAM."

Zurich Letters, vol. ii. p. 766, published by the Parker Society.

A brief but clear account of this controversy may be found in Carruthers'

because the whole matter of that controversie is set forth in a larg discourse, in an antient book printed anno [1575] at [Frankfort],[1] I will referre the reader to that book, that he may better informe his judgment in the state of the differences between them ; and yet withall I have thought good to acquaint the reader with an epistle writt to Mr. Whittingham and Mr. Goodman,[2] being at Geneva, from that worthy, famous, and learned writer Bishop Jewell, wherin some mention is made of the controversy at Frankford ; the letter is thus stiled:

Charissimis in Christo fratribus, Domino
Whittinghamo, et Domino Goodmanno,[3]
Genevæ.

Out of which inscriptions this is referred to the reader's judgment, that, seeing amongst graduat schollers not distinguished by præferment, antiquity gives the precedency, yet Mr. Jewell, knowing that Mr. Goodman was Mr. Whittingham's antient in Oxon by much, and had bin the divinity lecturer in Oxon in King Edward VI. raigne, yet doth he, in his directions, give to Mr. Whittingham the preheminence ; the reader, I say, may judge as he please, whether

History of the Church of England, vol. i. c. xiv. ; Strype's *Grindal*, p. 170 ; and also his Annals, Index to vol. iii.

[1] The book is entitled "History of Troubles at Frankfort;" reprinted in 1708 in a collection called the Phœnix, vol. ii. It is described by Fuller in his *Church History*, b. 8, p. 208.

[2] Christopher Goodman, a noted Puritan writer; he and Whittingham were intimately associated at Frankfort, and again in 1558 at Geneva, where Goodman published a pamphlet entitled "How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's word, be disobeyed and resisted," which, though written in Mary's time, was offensive to Queen Elizabeth because it strongly reprobated the government of women, as "a monster in nature," quoting God's instructions to the Israelites, "From the middle of thy *brethren* shalt thou choose thee a king, and not amongst thy *sisters*. For God is not contrary to himself, which at the beginning appointed the woman to be in subjection to her husband, and the man to be head ofthe woman, (as saith the Apostle) who will not permit so much to the woman as to speak in the assembly of men, much less to be ruler of a realm or nation."

[3] Goodman, divinity reader Oxon., temp. Edward VI.—Marg. note in MS.

he will ascribe it to negligence, or if Mr. Jewell had a greater respect to the difference of their gifts and sufficiencies; but the letter followeth:

Salutem plurimum [*sic*] in Christo.

Si quid[1] communem nostram inter nos conjunctionem aut obfuscavit aut imminuit inauspicatissima illa causa et contentio Francofordiana, id spero jam dudum vel pietate exstinctum esse, vel certe tempore ac diuturnitate consopitum; quod ego de vobis quidem duobus nihil dubito, de me autem possum etiam polliceri. Quoniam tamen taciturnitas tegere potius solet animorum dissidia quam extinguere, Christianæ pietatis esse duxi, scripto aliquo veterem nostram amicitiam excitare; ut si quæ adhuc extarent superioris doloris vestigia. ea prorsus ex omni memoriâ delerentur. Id hactenus distuli, non animi tumore, quem jampridem prorsus abjeceram, aut fraternæ charitatis contemptu, aut superbiâ, sed quod sperarem aliquando de eâ re vobiscum acturum coram: nunc autem, cum communis hic noster amicus et frater esset ad vos rediturus, non potui deesse occasioni. Quare, fratres mei, si in illâ causâ quam ego ne adhuc quidem possum condemnare, aut utrumque aut alterum vestrûm unquam læserim, aut, evectus studio et contentione, dicto vos aliquo insolentius attigerim, oro obsecroque vos ut eam mihi injuriam condonetis, eamque amnestiâ perpetuâ sepeliatis, ut ne verbo tantum et linguâ, sed opere et veritate, inter nos diligamus, et uno animo, unoque ore, glorificemus Deum et Patrem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Eram seorsim scripturus de hâc re ad dominum Williamum et dominum Woodum, verum id nunc capitis gravedo non sinit; quare orate, quæso, illos, quod ad vos duos scriptum est, id ad se quoque scriptum arbitrentur.

Valete, fratres, et Deum pro me orate. Tiguri, ex Ædibus D. P. Martyris, Calendis Junii,

Vester in Christo,

JO. JUELLUS.[2]

[1] Quis *in MS.*

[2] This letter is printed in the Parker Society's edition of Jewell's works, 4th portion, p. 1192, under the date of 1557, quoting from Ashmolean MS. 8560, 98 E 4.

Soon after the arrival at Geneva of Mr. Whittingham and the rest that went from Frankeford, Mr. Jo. Knox, who was a Scotch man, and then the minister of the English congregation,[1] was to leave that place, and to retourne to his owne country,[2] so as that place was to become void; and they, not being soe well provided (for the supply of that place) amongst our countrymen as Mr. Calvin (who had the principall care of the church goverment in that citie lying upon him) liked of, moved Mr. Whittingham to take the ministrie upon him, and to be made minister; which, notwithstanding Mr. Calvin his many urgencies and pressures, Mr. Whittingham refused to doe, alleaging that in his former travells and observations and learning the languages, he had fitted himselfe for State imployments, and had not bended his intentions that way, neither would acknowledge his gifts to be such as to be soe worthy as the calling required. But Mr. Calvin resolved not to accept of any refusall, but by continuall importunitie, and urging his gifts and fitnesse, did in the end, rather by conjuring him then perswading him, prævaile, and soe he succeeded Mr. Knox in the ministerie of the English church there;[3] where, after some two or three years, the learned that were at Geneva, as Bishop Coverdall, Mr. Good man, Mr. Gilbee,[4] Mr. Sampson,[5] Dr. Cole, and Mr. Whittingham (and who else I cannot relate) did undertake the translation of the

[1] In 1557 Knox's son Nathaniel was born at Geneva, and baptised on May 23rd, when Whittingham stood sponsor to the child.

[2] Knox's strong vituperations of the English government induced the magistrates of Geneva to send Whittingham and a Mr. Williams to him, to request him to depart, or they should be constrained to deliver him to the Emperor.—Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. pt. iii. pp. 407—544.

[3] In 1578, when the charge of invalidity of ordination was brought against Whittingham, it was stated that he was "not ordained according to Geneva," *i.e.* he was only appointed to preach, not ordained by imposition of hands. See p. 30 *infra*. But Wood, in his *Athenæ*, distinctly states that he was "made a minister, according to the Geneva fashion." Vol. i. p. 447.

[4] Anthony Gilby was the author of several controversial and theological treatises, published between 1547 and 1590; one of the most important being his translation of Beza's paraphrases on the Psalms.

Thomas Sampson, of whom it was said that it was doubtful whether there was

Geneva Bible;[1] which long ere the same was finished, Queen Mary dying, her sister of never-dying memory succeeded; whereupon the banished, as well bishops as others of the church of Frankford, retourned into England. Soe also did the church of Geneva, saving some of them only, and not all, that were engaged in the translation of the Bible; soe as Mr. Whittingham did tarrie in Geneva, for the finishing of that translation, a yeare and a halfe after Queen Elizabeth began her raigne, he also there turned into meeter those psalmes of the Geneva psalmes which are inscribed with W.W.[2] And then comming into England,[3] Francis Russell

living "a better man, a greater linguist, a more complete scholar, or a more profound divine." He was afterwards Dean of Chichester and also of Christchurch, Oxford, but deprived and imprisoned for non-conformity. Carruthers' *English Church History*, vol. i. p. 469 *et seq.;* Strype's *Parker*, book ii. ch. 22, and Neale's *History of the Puritans*, edit. 1811, vol. i. ch. 4, pp. 114–117.

[1] For an account of this Geneva Bible, commonly known from the translation of Genesis chap. iii. v. 7, as the Breeches Bible, see art. Version Authorized, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 1673. Westcott, in his History of the translation of the English Bible, pp. 121—127, gives the principal share of the New Testament revision to Whittingham, and supposes him to be the reviser whose address is prefixed, but he also shared the labour of the Old Testament revision. It was probably at this time that he translated into Latin the Liturgy of the church of Geneva. He also wrote a preface to Nicholas Ridley's *Declaration of the Lord's Supper.*—*Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 449.

[2] Though Sternhold died in 1549, his edition of the Psalms was not published till 1562. The first 15 were by Sternhold, 58 more by Hopkins, 5 by Whittingham, 27 by T. Norton, one by R. Wisdom, and 7 bear the initials W. K. and T. C., William Kethe and Thos. Churchyard. See John Holland's *Psalmists of Britain*, vol. i. p. 110.

[3] The following is an extract from the Council Book of Geneva, in reference to Whittingham's return to England, dated May 30, 1560:—"William Whittingham, citizen, in his own name and that of his company, came to thank the magistrates for the kind treatment they have received in this city, and to state that they are required to return to their own country, in order to minister to the church there; but that they entreated their worships still to regard them as humble servants of the republic, and promised that in everything and every place, wherever they might have the means of doing service, either to the state, or to any inhabitants of this city, they would exert themselves to the utmost of their power. They requested, too, a certificate of their life and conversation during their residence in this city, and gave in a register of those of their countrymen who came to dwell therein, by way of a perpetual remembrance.

"It was decreed that they should have honourable licence to depart, together with

Earl of Bedford was sent by Queen Elizabeth into France, to condole the death of [Francis II.], their late deceased King of France,[1] and Mr. Whittingham, as well for his perfection in that language, as former experience of the French courte, was appointed to attend the said Earle thertoo. After whose returne into England, presently the warre between France and England began at Newhaven,[2] where, for the French, the Ringrave[3] was the generall to oppugne the towne, and Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwick,[4] was sent by Queen Elizabeth leiutenant of English forces, to defend the same; in which expedition the said earl procured that Mr. Whittingham should goe with him, and be their preacher at Newhaven; which he did accordingly, and did soe there demeane himself, both in his function and in the guise of a soldier's employment, as he, after the experience of the alarums comminge on the soddaine, even in the middest of the sermons, he used to preach in his armour continually, and—as the old captaines and souldiers of Berwick would, many years after that—when any alarum came whilest he was preaching, he would be on the towne walls as soone almost as any man. Nay if the writer herof should set downe all that he hath heard reported of him in his commendation, not only of the captaines and soldiers but of the most eminent persons, as Sir Henry Sidney, since Lord Præsident of Wales,[5] and even from the Lord-Leiutenant

a testimonial of the satisfaction we have had in them; and that they be exhorted to pray for us, and to act in their turn towards foreigners as we have done to them; that they be always disposed to look with affection upon this city; and that those who are now citizens or subjects be still regarded as such for the time to come."—*Zurich Letters*, vol. ii. p. 765, *note*.

[1] Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots. The Earl went in January, 1561, and remained till the end of February.

[2] Havre, then a new-haven, being founded in 1509, by Louis XII.; for particulars of its defence, see Froude, vol. vii. p. 54; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547—80, pp. 203—220, and *Foreign* 1562, *sub voce* Newhaven.

[3] Rheingraf Philip Francis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

[4] Ambrose Dudley, son of John late Duke of Northumberland, and elder brother of Robert Earl of Leicester.

[5] He was President of Wales in 1560, and retained the office till his decease in

himself,[1] not only in his function for his diligence in preaching, and vigilancie in discovering a stratagem intended for the surprisal of the towne, and the hazard he did daily undergoe, in going to visit, instruct, and comfort, as need required, so many soldiers dying and dead in the great rome at once of the plague the increase whereof caused the loss of that towne,[2] but also for his valour and shewing himself to be in all occasions as well fram *Martis* queen *Mauorsa* : ‖ I say, I should see she. I should but fa up too much paper, and might be suspected of too much partiality. Yet that the truth of that that is already alledged of the good opinion that was had of him may the better appeare, let it be considered that Mr. Whitingham got not his preferments at the Deanery of Durham by following the Court, nor by such vaine gratifications as are said to be

1588, nor he was at Newhaven during the greater part of the siege. See Foreign Calendar, 1562.

Several honourable notices of Whitingham occur in the correspondence of the Earl of Warwick, Lord Lieutenant, and others, at the siege of Newhaven, *e.g.*

'Seeing your honour shall receive the aide of certain armies lately augmented, which shall to-morrow be thereof proclaimed. God grant they may also be duly exercised. The poor here have been hereafore plentifully spoiled by the Godless soldiers, and now before this time presented wherein succor might be ministered, whereunto my lord is most willingly bent, and by Mr Whitingham and the rest there vouched to public admiration in this behalf.'—Thomas Wood to Sir William Cecil, Newhaven, 8th November 1562.—*Foreign Correspondence. Record Office.*

'I assure you we may all here think ourselves happy in having such a man amongst us as Mr Whitingham is not only for the great virtues in him, but likewise for the care he hath to serve our masters besides. Wherefore, in my opinion, he hath well deserved great thanks at Her Majesty's hands.'—Warwick to Cecil, Newhaven, 24th November 1562.—*Ibid.*

And again—

'Forasmuch as Bradbridge and Tyrrel is both gone from hence, by reason of sickness, so that we have no minister but only Mr Whitingham, who is so excellent a man indeed as that I would not for no thing in the world spare him. I have thought good therefore to put you in remembrance, either to procure Mr. Goodman to come hither for the good report I have heard of him, or else Mr. Wyburn, for that it is like that should chance to be shut, then are we utterly destitute.'—Warwick to Cecil, Newhaven, 28th December 1562.—*Ibid.*

[2] See Sir A. Everings to Cecil, July 5, 1563, and other papers from July 6 to August 1, 1563. *Domestic Calendar of State Papers*, 1547—1580.

the oyle that doth facilitate the way to preferment,[1] but only from the commendation of the Lord Leiutenant to the Queen, by letters from Neuhaven,[2] as by a letter written from the Earl of Leycester, brother to the Lord Leiutenant, from the Court, most plainly appeareth, which letter I have thought good to set downe verbatim, for the better manifestation of the truth; directed thus:—

"To my good brother, the Earl of Warwik,
"the Queen's Majesties Leiutenant
"at Neuhaven.

"My good Brother,—

"I have now at last gotten Captain Read's bill dispatched, and the same being delivered under seal to his man, I thought good likewise to let you understand of that, so of your request to Mr. Whittingham for the Deanery of Duresme,[3] wheerunto the Queen's

[1] In May 1562, an effort was made to obtain for him the parsonage of Loughborough, the rector of which, John Wyllock, was absent in Scotland, attending Thos. Randolph, ambassador there, as chaplain. The advowson was in the gift of Lord Hastings of Loughborough, whose tendencies were popish, and he wished to place therein Adams, one of his own chaplains. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Robert Dudley, and Mr. Goodrich used their influence with his lordship in favour of Whittingham, but in vain; and therefore Wyllock, who held the cure, though professing his willingness to resign in favour of an "honest, learned man like Whittingham, begged leave to hold the living with a dispensation for five years for non-residence, rather than relinquish it to a Papist."—Wyllock to Cecil, May 26, and Randolph to Cecil, May 30, 1562.—*Foreign Correspondence, Record Office.*

[2] It is probable from the coincidence of dates that the service alluded to is thus recorded in a letter from Warwick and the Council of War at Newhaven to the Council:

"You may perceive, by certain examinations herewith enclosed, what late practices here hath been for the burning of the ships in this haven, which was revealed by Mr. Whittingham, and the parties also found out by him, upon intelligence given unto him by one Mons. Le Barre, principal minister of this town, and a man of great learning and no less fidelity towards this cause, being now departed hence to Caen, with a great number of the burgesses, whom the only bruit of war hath driven from hence, without any compulsion used therein towards them."—Date May 18, 1563.—*Foreign Correspondence, Record Office.*

[3] The modern Durham is directly from the Norman Duresme. The coinage of the episcopal mint, from Bishop Bec (1283–1310) to Cardinal Langley (Bp. 1406–1437), gives the legend indifferently Dureme, or the Latin Dunolm or Dunelm. Derame first appears on a coin of Bishop Booth (1457—1476), and his successors

majesty hath also confirmed, which shee would not, I assure you, doe, neither at my or Mr. Secretaries suit; but upon the last lettres written in his behalfe, her highness hath granted it unto him; he is therefore, next unto her majestie, to thanke you for it. And so with my most harty commendations, I bid you, as heartily as myself, farewell. At the Court the 24th of July, 1563.

Your loving brother, R. DUDDLEY.

"Postscript.—I pray you, in your next lettres, give her majestie thanks for the favour she hath shewed Mr. Whittingham for your sake: and look well to your health, my dear brother."[1]

By this letter it appeareth that the said Queen Elizabeth would not have given the deanery to Mr. Whittingham, neither at the request of the said Earle of Leycester, neither of Mr. Secretarie Cecil then soe being, but upon the said Lord Lieutenant's lettres from Newhaven. The cause was for that she had half promised it to one who after became one of the secretaries of State, and after Mr. Whittingham had enjoyed the deanery 16 year and more, he resigned it, but died within a yeare and a halfe after,[2] so as he for a short while enjoyed it.

Here, before I proceed any further, I think it meet to mention some things which happed at Newhaven, which particularly concerne Mr. Whittingham. He being sent from the Lord Lieutenant with a message to the Ringrave,[3] who lay encamped before the towne, the Ringrave seing Mr. Whittingham comming towards him, he spur'd his horse, drew his sword or rapier, and came towards

more of the varieties of Durham, Durrum, and Durnum. In "The Siege of Carlaverock Bishop Lee is described as "a noble Frenche in Doctrine."—Surtees's Durham, vol. i. p. xl. vol. v. p. 4, p. 5.

Warwick, in a letter to Dudley, written from Newhaven, the same day as the preceding, says: "For that I had in my letter to the Queen's Majesty forgot my humble thanks for the suit of my dear friend Mr. Whittingham, for the great favour I have showed her to serve him, or my sake, I remember you therefore in most humble wise to render them unto her Majesty."—Domestic Correspondence, Record Office.

[1] Dr. Thomas Wilson, who was secretary [illegible], died at Durham 1579, and then 581.

[2] See post, p. 1.

Mr. Whittingham in a bravado, at a full speed, as though he would have assaulted him; wherupon Mr. Whittingham tooke out one of the pistolls he had at his saddle-crutch, and held it out towards the Ringrave, who asked him in French if he were in earnest; he answered "No—only attended to answere what he would put him unto;" the Ringrave putt up his rapier, and after kind respects used—Mr. Whittingham having discharged the messuage—the Ringrave carried him to his tent and caused him to dine with him. And the table being full beset with gentlemen that were Frenchmen, they began to gibe and use broad jests against our nation, which Mr. Whittingham did soe returne upon them, to the touch of the French, that one of them that sate at the lower end of the table did rise in great fury, drew his dagger, and would have stabbed Mr. Whittingham, if the wayters and some gentlemen rysing from the table had not hindered. Wherat the Ringrave, after having shewed great indignation against the Frenchman, caused a great double gilt bowle to be filled with wine, and dranke it of to Mr. Whittingham, with these termes, "Cup and all." Mr. Whittingham pledged the wine, but restored the bowle; which when Mr. Whittingham would by noe means accept of, the Ringrave sent it after him to Neuhaven, with this messuage: that if he did refuse to take it and keep for his sake, he would never esteem of him. Soe Mr. Whittingham took the cup, and left it to his sequeles (followers) as a monument of the Ringrave's love, and care the Ringrave had to salve the wronge he had received at his table.

Next it shall be fit to shew what course and order was taken and used at Neuhaven in the ecclesiasticall government by Mr. Whittingham, and what cautious lettres were sent to him out of England concerning the same, and his answer therunto; two lettres were sent, the one of caution and reprehension from Mr. Secretary Cicill, the other of freindly respects and advertisment from him also. The lettres follow:—

"Mr. Whittingham,—

"I cannot but in my small leisure send my compleint unto you.

I heare by your meanes the Queen's subjects there forbeare the observation of that manner and ryte of religion that is here received by authoritie in this realme. I can surely love you for your good and vertuous gifts, but in this, if it be true, I must needs blame you. I will not argue with you, for my parte is much the stronger, and on your parte small reasons can be made; but upon singularitie, you nor any borne under this kingdome may be permitted to break the bond of obedience and uniformitie. The question is not of doctrine, but of rites and ceremonies; and this I write lamentably to you; I have found more letts and impediments in the course of the gospell here, in this ecclesiasticall government, by certaine fond singularities of some men, then the most malice the Papists can shew. If you knew the crosses I have suffered for stay of religion, you might pittie me, and ought, for God's cause, to yelde to conformitie. I am not learned, but I meane well to learning, and am not unsensible of as much as is usually said in this matter. I conclude this varietie may not nor must not be suffered; and therfore I require [you] to think and determine thereupon, how it may be amended. Setting this apart, I acknowledge myselfe much addicted to love you. *Deus est deus pacis, non discordiæ.* IX. December, 1562.

"Your assured, WILL. CECILL."

To which Mr. Whittingham wrote this answere as followeth:—[1]

"[2]I am sorrie that in your great and serious affaires, your honour should be troubled with the frivoulous complaints of certaine which shew themselves offended with the manner of ceremonies used here, as a thing disagreing from the order commanded and observed in England, soe that they drive me to render a reason of that thing which I thought to have bin out of controversy, and that your honor, with [3]*the rest of the*[3] godly and learned [4]*there, had easily consented unto*;[4] and for mine owne part, St. Augustine somewhat

[1] The original of this letter is in the Public Record Office, Foreign Papers, 1562, No. 1304. The variations in readings are given in the notes; the words affected by them are printed in italics.

[2] Insert "Grace, mercy, and peace through Christ Jesus."

[3] "others."

[4] "would easily have approved."

[1] *perswadeth* [1] me, who counselleth in such things to accommodate ourselves to the nature of the place where wee are conversant; next, moved [2] *by* [2] the opinion of this people, who, as they had conceived evill of the infirmitie of other rites and cold proceedings in religion, soe if they should have seen us, but in forme,[3] though not in substance, to use the same or like order in ceremonies which the papists had a little afore observed, (aganst whom they now venture goods and body), they would, to [4] *our* [4] great greif, have suspected our doings,[5] and have feared in time [6] *to come* [6] the losse of that libertie which after a sort they [7] *had recovered, by* [7] the blood shedding of many thousands.

"Moreover, as I ever approved this order best, because it is [8] *more* [8] agreable to God's word, neärest approaching to the [9] *example of the primitive church*, [9] and best allowed of the learned and godly,[10] so I perceived[11] it wrought[12] a marveilous conjunction of minds [13] *betwixt* [13] the French and us, and brought a singular comfort to all our people. Besides this, Mr. Viron told me, that my lord[14] of London warned and charged[15] that wee should use noe other order for ceremonyes then that which wee should find here; which in [16] judgment, considering the place and time, is nothing prejudiciall to our orders at home; for reformation wherof all the godly have their eyes and harts bent and directed to your honour, next under God and the Queen's majestie; for alas! they are far from perfection, though for gaine and [17] *advantage* [17] they have many patrons who, as I think,

[1] "herein persuaded."
[2] "with."
[3] Insert "only."
[4] "their."
[5] Insert "as not sincere."
[6] Omit "to come."
[7] "have purchased with."
[8] "most."
[9] "form that the godly fathers used."
[10] Insert "in these days, and according to the example of the best reformed churches."
[11] Insert "that."
[12] Insert "here."
[13] "betweene."
[14] Insert "Bishop."
[15] Insert "us."
[16] Insert "my."
[17] "vantage."

might with better conscience susteine the [1] *reproof* [1] of singularitie then dissemble the matters of soe great importance.

" Thus, being fully perswaded of your good affection towards me, and for discharge of mine owne conscience, I am bold to write plainly, trusting your wisdome will not be offended; for God is my judge,[2] if I knew [3] how to ease you of soe many heavy burdens and manifold crosses, which wee all acknowledge to lye upon you,[4] I would refuse noe paine or travell; but my earnest and continuall prayer to God is that He would send you strength and comfort long to serve, to the glorie of His holy name, (for whom noe discord is to be feared, and without whome noe concorde is to be sought,) that, as you have began to uphold and advance the kingdome of His son Jesus Christ, soe you may, by His mercies, continue perfect, and establish the same, to His praise, the Queen's honor, and all our comforts. Amen!" [5]

The second lettre before-mentioned, though it concern not this argument, yet that it may shew the respect and interchange betwixt them,—and the rather for that both Mr. Secretary's letters were all of his owne handwriting—I think it not fit to be omitted; it followeth, with the direction thus:—

" To my very loving friend Mr. Whittingham, principall preacher of the word at Neuhaven.

" The peace of God and warr for Him be with you.

[1] " reproach."
[2] Insert " that."
[3] Insert " as well."
[4] Insert " as I pity you."
[5] Insert " From Newhaven, this 20th December, 1562.

" Your honour's most humbly to commande,

" W. WHITTINGHAM."

The subject of introducing the English forms into the service at Newhaven was discussed at length in a letter sent the same day from Cuthbert Vaughan, Comptroller and Muster-master of the Forces, and one of the Council of war at Newhaven. He strongly dissuades the enforcing of ceremonies in a country where they would give offence, and might make the people weary of the English, and hopes the dregs of superstition yet remaining in the church may be redressed this Parliament.—See *Foreign Calendar* 1562, p. 575.

"How mighty a stroke was towards is a terrible thought to remember, but to behold His wrathfull hand was of late here so fearfull as hitherto I scantly have recovered my heart, to take the joy of this mercifull benefit; this I write of the Queen's danger and delivery.[1] Almighty God be praysed of us all, and give us grace to remember His intended wrath, and to enjoy His effectuall grace and mercy! Happy were you, for that I thinke the tydings of her danger were accompanied with the report of her amendment.

"Now that my lord of Warwick is come, I trust every day will amend another. I hartily thanke you for your gentle lettre, and pray you, as your leisure may serve, to write sometime to me, which shall be my comfort, though by my answer I acquite them not, for lack of leisure. The fortunate death of the unfortunate King of Navarre[2] cannot but induce a great blessing of God. xxiij of October 1562, from

"Yours in Christ assured,

"W. CECILL."

Mr. Whittingham's lettre in answer of the former I omitt for brevity sake, for that it doth not concerne this purpose, but conteins advertisements of the then State affaires, wherof now there can be but small use.[3]

[1] The reference here is to a dangerous attack of small-pox, from which Queen Elizabeth suffered in October 1562.

[2] Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, died 7th Nov. 1562, of a wound received at the siege of Rouen.

[3] The letter in question is preserved in the Public Record Office, Foreign Papers, 1562, No. 1771, and is as follows:

"Grace, mercy, and peace through Christ Jesus our Lord. Oh, happy news that brought life before they threatened death! Oh our miserable sins, that brought in danger that life which should have drawn so many thousands to death! Oh, the unspeakable mercies of our God, who, by prolonging that life, hath revived all true professors of God's holy word!

"Thus we may see the just judgments of God, and also may behold his wonderful mercys which surmount them. God grant us true repentance for our sins, fervent minds to prayer, sincere love of his word, and the right practise of our Christian profession!

And soe Mr. Whittingham, returning from Neuhaven, and com-

" But one thing, right honourable, doeth make me to tremble, when I behold God's plagues in such a readiness, and represented unto us in those blood-thirsty wolves, which seem to be reserved and kept up to make them more eager and greedy of the blood of the poor lambs of Jesus Christ, which daily they gape after and threaten. Certainly an horrible terror to all God's children, a discouraging to all the professors of true religion, and to the enemy a wonderful encouraging, whereby his heart toward God is hardened, and against the Queen's Majesty made rebellious. The Lord God move her heart to remedy this evil, and send her a long and prosperous reign, to his glory, and the comfort, not only of us her subjects, but of all Christendom; seeing the whole state thereoff this day dependeth on her Majesty.

" It would be tedious to repeat to your honour all our news, which my Lord Presedent can most certainly declair, upon whose relation I doubt not but you will, by foreseeing the dangers, provide speedy remedy. My Lord-Lieutenant behaveth [him] self very honourably, and hath the commendation of all sorts. Only it may please your honour not to suffer him to be destitute of some special wise counseller, whose heart may be sincerely bent to this cause, whose valientness may engender fear in the enemy, and whose wisdom may with speed remedy dangers; for now that my Lord President is departed hence, my Lord shall be almost left destitute. Yea and by the private dissensions of them whose authority, by concord, might appease all particular grudges of other men, our state might easily fall into danger.

" The Rhinegrave was within half-a-mile of this town, with a great company of Almains, pretending no hurt but meaning no goodness, as your honour shall perceive by my Lord Presedent. The next day afterward, which was the seventh of this month, he departed toward Guise, leaving 12 ensigns of Almains within two miles of this place. Guise by report is gone toward Paris. Some say that the prince hath taken all such plate and treasure as the King had left at Fontainebleau.

" Here is a gentleman called Mons. Beauvoir, left as governor under the Vidame in such things as shall appertain to the duty of the French towards our state. He hath married the Vidame's sister, and surely is a godly, valiant, and trusty gentleman, greatly affectioned toward your honour; therefore I wish he might be encouraged in his well doing. Concerning religion certain orders are drawn, but as yet not published, for preaching and prayers to be had daily, and for discipline to be practised for the supressing of vice, which would otherwise in short time grievously infect this flock. Hither came, with my Lord, one Mr. Broadbridge, minister, and since their departure from Dieppe, Mr. Viron. The soldiers are for the most part so void of knowledge and fear of God that I think, considering the number that is to come, we shall all have occasion to be both well and diligently occupied. Thus I am bold to trouble your honour, albeit I am not ignorant of your great affairs otherwise, and of your special care for the furtherance of this cause.

ming to Durham to reside upon his deanery there, anno 1563,[1] after he had remained there some years, Secretary Cecill was advanced to be Lord Treasurer,[2] in whose place Mr. Whittingham was nominated, amongst others, to succeede him in place of secretarie, and was thought fit for that place, in respect of his perfection in the French tongue, and his experience he had gathered in twelve years beyond the seas; but the Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, alleadged that it was pitty to call him to such imployment, being soe well fitted to discharge his place in his function, neither did he thinke that he would except therof, if it were offered him; aganst which it was alleadged that he, having noe other church living but the deanery, and it being *sine curâ animarum*, as deaneryes are said to be, it was only a dignity belonging to the church, rather than a place tying one to continuall residence: but that tooke noe effect, in respect of the incongruitie which it cannot but carrie in all men's judgments.

And, notwithstanding the contents of Mr. Whittingham his former lettre concerning church discipline,[3] after he had remained in the deanery two or three years,[4] and the order of vestures being generally

"The Lord God bless and prosper you, and direct you in this and all other your Godly enterprises, to His glory, the honour of the Queen's majesty, and all our comforts! Amen. From New Haven this 8 Novembre.

"Your honours most humbly to obey,

"W. WHITTINGHAM.

"To the right honourable Sir William Cecil, Knight, principal secretary to the Queen's majesty."

[1] On his passage through London, he preached before the Queen, at Windsor, on Sept. 2, 1563.—Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 88, and *Parker*, vol. i. p. 268.

[2] Sir William Cecil was made Lord Burghley February 25, 1571, and Lord High Treasurer 15th July, 1572. The secretaryship devolved upon Sir Thomas Smith, and was shared with him the following year by Sir Francis Walsingham.

[3] A long controversial letter from Whittingham to the Earl of Leicester, against the "old Popish apparel," dated Durham, 1564, is printed in Strype's *Parker*, vol. iii. pp. 76—84.

[4] The question does not seem to have been so much whether chasubles, &c., should be retained, as whether the surplice should be worn instead of the black Geneva gown. The Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559 contained a rubric retaining vestments; the Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 2, sec. 25, qualified this, but leaving large discretionary powers in the hands of the Queen.

established for churchmen,[1] and soe pressed as they that would not use the same should not be permitted to exercise their ministrie, he then submitted himself thereunto ;[2] and, being upbraided therwith for so doing, by one that had bin with him at Geneva, he answered that they knew and had heard Mr. Calvin say, that for these externall matiers of order they must not neglect their ministrie, for soe should they, for tything of mint, neglect the greater things of the law.[3] And concerning singing in the church, Mr. Whittingham

[1] An account of the controversy may be seen in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 495, and in Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book, Introduction p. 67.

[2] He and Mr. Beton refused at first, but afterwards consented. Strype's *Grindal*, p. 145. Canon Raine has kindly supplied the following notes from the York registers, relative to this controversy. The interrogatories are absent, but may be guessed at from the replies in most cases.

"August 5, 1566. Office against Mr. Wm. Whittingham, Dean of Durham. Certain articles are administered to him, to which he makes the following replies:—

"1. True.

"2. He doyth not now well remembre, nor certainly knowe the lawes, statutes, etc., articulate, and therfore he doythe referre himeself to the same.

"3. He doyth not well knowe or remembre—(as before).

"4. He openly goeth abrode in the cytty of Duresme, and also into the queare in the cathedrall churche of Duresme, doyth and hayth used to weare a rounde capp, and sometymes abrode in the country.

"5. He cometh into the cathedrall churche of Duresme, and into the queare ther, in a rounde capp and a gowne, withowt a surples above the same, but not to the offence of any honeste or grave personnes, as he belevethe.

"6. He one time, upon Christenmas Day nexte comynge shalbe thre yeres, dyd minister the Communyon withowt eyther cope or surples, howbeit he dyd not minister the Communion sence that day, and he receyveth the Communyon neyther syttinge nor standinge, but bowing his kne towardes the grounde at the receyving therof.

"7. True.

"He is enjoined henceforth to wear decent apparell in church and elsewhere on pain of deprivation ; to conform before All Saints' Day next, and to appear to certify his conformity.

"February 17, 1566-7. Pronounced contamacious for not certifying his conformity.

[3] A contemporary rhymer writes :—

"Wood, Williams, Whittingham, and Sutton,
Valued the Prayer Book not a button,
gy they grudg'd to say,
And threw the surplice quite away—
Alter'd confession, chang'd the hymns
For old Jack Hopkins' pithy rhymes."

Ward's *Reformation Cant*, i.

did soe farre allowe of that as he was very carefull to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen's chapell, to furnish the quire with all, himselfe being skillfull in musick.[1]

After, when he had lived in the deanery of Durham five or six years more, the rebellion in the North at Durham growing towards, Mr. Whittingham moved the then Bishop,[2] divers weeks before the rebells broke forth into open act, that he would send for his

"February 18, 1566-7. Does not appear. Ordered to be cited to appear in person.

"March 17. Citation again decreed. If disobeyed he will be deprived.

"March 18. John Broket, public notary, appears for the Dean, alleges his conformity and desires dismissal of suit. Ordered to prove conformity.

"May 26, 1567. A letter of James Bishop of Durham, put in by proctor, testifying to the Dean's conformity.

"August 2, 1567. After many delays, the Commissioners release him from the suit."

[1] The following letter, printed in Strype's *Parker*, vol i. pp. 267-8, gives some account of Whittingham's official labours :—

"Grace, mercy, and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord!

"Albeit I am not ignorant how unbeseeming it is to trouble your honour with letters of small importance, yet I colde not, in so long tyme, omit to shew some signification of my special duety, as wel to yielde unto your honor most humble thanks, with promise of my service where you shall appoint, as also to certify you of our doings here.

"First, in the morning at six of the clock, the grammar schoole and song schole, with all the servants of the house, resort to prayers into the church; which exercise continueth almost half-an-hour. At nyne of the clock we have our ordinary service, and likewise at thre afternone. The Wednesdays and Fridays are appointed to a general fast, with prayers and preaching of God's word. The Sundaies and holydays before none we have sermons, and at after none the catechisme is expounded.

"Because we lak an able scholemaster, I bestow daily three or four hours in teaching the youth, till God provide us of some that may better suffice.

"The people in the country are very docile, and willing to hear God's word; but the towne is very stiff, notwithstanding they be handeled with al lenitie and gentleness. The best hope I have that now of late they begyn to resort more diligently to the sermons and service. God make us all profitable setters forth of His glory, and preserve long, bless, and direct your honour, to His glory and all our comforts! My brother Mr. Hallyday most humbly saluteth your honour; so doth Mr. Benet.

"From Durham, this 19th December.

"Your honour's most humbly to commande,

"W. WHITTINGHAM."

[2] James Pilkington, elected 20th February, 1561, ob. 23rd January, 1576, aged 55.

teneants to come to his castell at Durham, with their warlike furniture ; which if he would doe, he could cause all the tenants of the church to joyne likewise with them, which would be a means to awe the collecting rebells, and be a stay and refuge for many gentlemen of the country to repaire unto, for want wherof many might be drawen to adhære to the rebells ; which fell out after according, to the utter ruine of many of the gentlemen and their posterityes, and the country to this day doe bearre the scares of that error. But the bishop answered that he had a great deale of the Queen's money in his hand, and durst not hazard it.

About a weeke before the rebells rose, Mr. Whittingham rid to Newcastle, and, calling the maior and aldermen togeather, did acquaint them with the then present estate of the country, and how much it concerned them to look to their owne safety, for they must needs thinke that, upon the said rising, they would first attempt to surprise them there, (if they could find them unprovided,) that they might be lords of their wealth, and that they might be therby the better enabled to maintayne their undertaken enterprise. Wherupon the maior caused the gates of the towne to be presently shutt, the ordinance to be carried to the wall, and such further courses for fortifications to be used as Mr. Whittingham, out of his experience in the seige of Neuhaven, was able to advise them unto ; by meanes wherof the rebells never dared the attempt of the seige of that towne, which was then the refuge for the better affected subjects.

Mr. Whittingham himselfe tarried at Durham till the Thursday next before the Monday that the rebells rose,[1] secret intelligence

[1] This must have been Thursday, November 10, 1569. The following Monday, November 14, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland had appeared with their forces at Durham, and, to inspire the idea that they fought for the Catholic religion, they began their proceedings by tearing in pieces the Bible and throwing down the communion table in Durham Cathedral. Earl of Surrey to the Queen, November 15, 1569.—*State Papers, Record Office.* See also Froude's *Elizabeth*, vol. ix. ch. 18, pp. 515 *et seq.*

being brought unto him, if he went not away that night, he could not passe southwarde, for the bridges would be taken up the next night, to prevent all intercourses and intelligences; soe that Mr. Whittingham going then into the South, the rebells entred into his house, and spoyled the same, and rent in peices his books in such sort and abundance as was pityfull to beholde.[1]

Mr. Whittingham returned within five weeks, with the Queen's army, conducted under the goverment of the aforenamed Ambrose Earle of Warwicke and the Earle of Lyncolne; but the rebells, hearing of the Lords' comming, fledd, and the Lords, comming noe further then to Durham, presently returned.[2]

For eight or nine years after, Mr. Whittingham lived in the great love and liking of his neighbours, for his affability and bountifull hospitallity, which was in such a proportion as it is marvelled even to this day how the naked deanery alone (for he had noe more) could support his expences.

After those three yeares were expired, the see of York and of Durham became void both at one time,[3] whereupon the Earle of Leycester (being a great favourite in Court, and he that had formerly moved the Queene for the deanery of Durham to be bestowed on Mr. Whittingham, as appeareth by the lettre herein before recited,) caused Sir Edward Horsey (who was captain of the Isle of

[1] This statement does not agree with the testimony even of their enemies, who said that they paid for all they took, and suffered no spoil, and that a soldier who had taken a horse of the dean's out of his stable was punished, and compelled to restore the horse.—Sussex to Cecil, November 16, 1569.

[2] The Earl of Warwick and Lord Admiral Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln, were the leaders. They had reached Wetherby by December 14, and on the 16th the rebels had dispersed. Full particulars of this rebellion will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Addenda*, 1569-70, and also in Sir Cuthbert Sharpe's *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569, in which many of the papers are printed.

[3] Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, was translated to Canterbury 10th January, 1576, and Edwin Sandys, his successor, was appointed 25th January, 1577. James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, died January 23, 1576, and Richard Barnes succeeded him 5th April, 1577. By a singular mistake, several authorities name Pilkington's death as in January, 1575, instead of 1575-6; Barnes's elevation as in April, 1575.

Wight, a great courtier and one of Mr. Whittingham his Neuhaven acquaintance,) to write to Mr. Whittingham to come to the Court, and he should not faile to have one of those places. Whereunto Mr. Whittingham returned answer by lettre, and sent it to the writer hereof, he being then of the Temple, to be delivered ; but the lettre being delivered and read, the writer herof got a sight of it, and found the effect of the lettre to be, that, touching the motions conteined in his lettre, he found himselfe soe declined by age and infirmitie, as that he felt himselfe very unfit to undertake soe great a place, with the burden that the good discharge of such a place required ; and that her Majestie had soe gratiously and liberally already recompenced his services, as he should shew himselfe unthankfull if he should not seeme satisfied with soe good a bounty as he had already received, and therfore desired him that he, with all thankfullnesse and humble acknowledgment in his behalfe, would signifie to his honor the deep apprehension he conceived of his love towards him, soe effectually demonstrated by his lordship's messuage, which should tye him to a perpetuall remembrance of him in his prayers, being not able by any means in his power otherwise to requite soe extraordinary a favour.

Then, after a while, the archbishoprick of York and bishoprick of Durham being bestowed at one time, and both of them preferred by the meanes of one and the selfe same noble person, as was reported, the Bishop of Durham yelded that the Archbishop should visit the church of Durham, not knowing belike, or not regarding, the right of his owne church ;[1] soe, after a year or two, the deane and præbends[2] of the church of Durham were cited to appeare at the visitation.[3]

[1] The claim of the Archbishop to visit was of course in capacity of his office as metropolitan. On the general question whether archbishops have such power except on appeal, see Stephen's *Dictionary of Church Law*, under Visitation and Metropolitan. In the phrase "the church of Durham," no doubt the diocese is included, and, as part of the diocese, the cathedral, or rather its clerical officers.

[2] The vulgar form for prebendary—the prebend strictly is the property of the stall held by the prebendary.

[3] A brief notice of this visitation occurs in the *Injunctions and Ecclesiastical*

The day appointed being come, the Bishop came to Durham, and after the sermon in the morning, the Bishop going towards the chapter-house to the visitation, Mr. Whittingham asked the Bishop whether he would visit in his owne right; he answered, in the right of the Archbishop; wherunto Mr. Whittingham answered that then he wronged his owne jurisdiction, and the clergie of the country in generall, and him and the rest of the Church more specially, for that they being sworne to maintaine the liberties of their Church, and by their statutes having noe visitour but the Bishop of Durham, if they should yeild to be visited in the right of the Archbishop, they should break their oath.[1] All which notwithstanding, and whatsoever could be alleadged by Mr. Deane, the Bishop persisted in his former resolution; and by this time, being come neare to the chapter-house doore, Mr. Whittingham called to the doore keeper to lock the doore, and to give him the keys, which the doore keeper did forthwith; which the Bishop hastning to prevent, Mr. Whittingham did a little interrupt him, taking holt of his gowne, and soe the business was concluded; but that accident bred a great in-

Proceedings of Bishop Barnes, edited by Canon Raine, for the Surtees Society, p. 65; the Durham chapter records have several allusions to a later and similar contest about 1587, when, during the vacancy of the see of Durham, the Archbishop of York had the care of the spiritualities. The papers relating to this *vexata questio* are—

A folio labelled "De sede vacante" containing, among other articles,—

A paper of reasons why, supposing the Archbishop had power to visit the prior and convent, he should not have the same power over the dean and chapter, because they are not successors of the prior and convent, but grantees from the King.

Paper entitled "Sententia *versus* Decanum et Capitulum Dunelm. 1590."

Paper on a dispute between the Archbishop of York and Dean and Chapter of Durham, on the right of visitation.

Paper in Latin on the same subject, with quotations from Latin authors and remarks in English.

Summary of reasons in favour of the chapter having the right over the spiritualities.

Four papers relating to the custody of the temporalities and spiritualities.

Selections from the minutes of chapter, entitled *Eccles. Cath. Dunelm. Liber Actionum, ab anno* 1578 *ad* 1581.

For the chapter statutes, see Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 118, &c., especially chapters i. and v.

dignation, both in the Bishop and Archbishop, against Mr. Whittingham.[1]

Yet did that action adde (if any thing could be added) to the love which the towne and country did already beare towards him,[2] and did the more aggravate the displeasure conceived against him by the Archbishop and Bishop, and soe increase them as it appeared, by many of their speeches and actions, that they tooke it for a disgrace offered them, and such as could not be laid aside without a revenge.

Hereupon one of the prebends, being one alone, and of a singular factious spirit, and bearing ever a malignitie to Mr. Whittingham, and spying this opportunity to disgorge himselfe of his long conceived hatred against him, went to the Bishopps, and acquainted them with a plott that he had devised, which [if] they would pursue, he doubted not but it would eject Mr. Whittingham out of his deanery, which they gladly harkned unto, and did with all forwardness pursue.

The plott was this: that seeing there was one of the secretaries of the privy counsell, to whome the Queen had halfe given the deanery of Durham, before she gave it to Mr. Whittingham, and did after alter her purpose, by the occasion of Mr. Whittingham's preferment

[1] It is probably in reference to these and similar proceedings that the Bishop writes of the Church of Durham as an Augean stable, "whose stink is grievous in the nose of God and man, and which to purge far passeth Hercules' labours." Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 109, Oxford ed. A news-writer of the time, Fleetwood, recorder of London, speaks of there being a "broil of excommunication between the Archbishop and Dean," but plainly says he thinks my Lord Bishop in the wrong. Ibid. vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 107.

[2] The spirit of the county would be with Whittingham, partly because of the clan-like feeling which had always pervaded the Palatinate, and partly because of the resistance which had existed for ages on the part of the Northern province to any needless interference on the part of the Archbishops of York. An account of Archbishop Wickwaine's attempt to visit the priory of Durham in 1283 is given in Raine's *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, p. 330, quoting *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres*, Surtees Soc. ed. pp. 58-69, and Prynne's *Collections*, vol. iii. p. 309. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 120. For a similar case, see *Injunctions of Bishop Barnes*, Appendix p. viii.

therunto, by lettres of commendation from Neuhaven, as is aforesaid, he doubted not but he would helpe, by any means he could, to dispossesse him of the deanery, that he might cry quittance with him, and gaine the deanery to himselfe; and therfore if their lordshipps would write, or give leave to him to sollicite that secretarie to procure a commission from her Majestie, directed to their lordshipps and others, to visite the church of Durham, he would preferre such articles against the Deane as would procure his deprivation.

The Bishop, following the track of his devise, procured a commission directed to the Lord Archbishop of York, the Earl of Huntingdon then Lord President,[1] the Lord Leiutenant of the North, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Deane of York, and Sir Thomas Boynton, Sir Robert Stapleton, Sir William Mallorye, Sir Christopher Wandsford, both of Yorkshire, and divers others.[2] They all came to Durham to the visitation,[3] where they

[1] Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon. He held the office until his death, 31st December, 1595.

[2] The commission is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 785, date May 14, 1578. In the notice of Whittingham, in Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. ii. pp. 143-152, a previous commission is said to have been procured by Whittingham to the Archbishop of York, the President of the Council in the North, and the Dean of York, to determine complaints against him, chiefly in reference to the validity of his ordination, on which Dean Hutton, who inclined to Whittingham, spoke of his ordination as superior to that of the Archbishop. But this commission does not appear on the Patent or Close Rolls. Strype (*Annals Reform.* vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 168) places it in 1576, and records that it had little effect, because of misunderstandings between the Commissioners.

There is a commission on the Patent Roll, 19 Eliz. pars 12, memb. 12 dors., to the Bishop of Durham, Henry Lord Hunsdon, Warden of the East Marches, Cuthbert Lord Ogle, William Lord Eure, Dean Whittingham, and sixteen others, to enforce within the diocese of Durham obedience to the Acts of Uniformity, and also of assurance of the Queen's power, of 5 Eliz.; and to the Act of 15 Eliz., to suppress all disorders in churches or chapels, or against divine service or the ministers thereof, impose fines upon such as absent themselves, and enforce obedience to the Articles of 1562; with power to punish disobedience by excommunication, censure, or fin , the Bishop keeping a register of the proceedings. It is dated Gorhambury, 22nd July, 1576.

[3] About July 8, 1578, see Appendix p. 42.

sate four dayes, aganst when the busy instrument I spoke of before, had provided more than 50 articles against Mr. Whittingham, and presented them to the visitors (amongst whome there were some that would looke to it that they should want noe due examination); yet after 4 dayes' sifting, when the rest were found to be frivoulous, without proofe, and grounded only upon malice, they were all left as idle and vaine, saving 2 ;[1] the one that Mr. Whittingham was not capable of the deanery of Durham, being only a Master of Arts, the statutes of the house requiring that the deane should be a Bachelour of Divinity at the least ;[2] the second was that Mr. Whittingham was not capable of the deanery, for that he was not made minister after the orders of the Church of England, but after the forme of Geneva.[3] To which point learned Deane Hutton, then of York, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and lastly Archbishop of York,[4] did then say to those that did most urge against it, that the ministry of Geneva was better than that ministrie which was made with these words, *accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis*, with which words it is said the principale objector was made preist,[5] and therfore had the lesse cause to except against the ministerie of Geneva.

[1] He is also censured for having, in his capacity of Dean of Durham, encouraged his former friends, Knox and Goodman, to set up Presbyterianism in Scotland, but this does not seem to have formed one of the articles of his accusation. Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 147.

[2] The statutes making this proviso are of the date of Mary, and printed in Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 118.

[3] The question does not appear to have been whether the ordination was episcopal (the high episcopal doctrine dates chiefly from Bancroft, Saravia, and Bilson, about 1590), but whether the recognised form of Geneva ordination had been given to Whittingham. See for fuller accounts of the case, Appendix Nos. I., II.

It was said that he was "made minister by a few mean men and lay persons in a private house at Geneva, without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Calvin, chief minister there." Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 468.

[4] In 1595, showing that this life could not have been written earlier than that date.

[5] These words, being employed only in the Romish ordination service, seem to point out Whittingham's opponent to be W. Bennett, D.D., who held the fourth stall. He and Robert Swift, who was ordained at Louvain, were the only members of the chapter that had received Romish orders, but Bennett seems the more likely, because,

But to proceede: Mr. Whittingham desired that because those two articles depended upon points of law, that he might by counsell make his answere; which though some of the commissioners would not yeelde unto, yet it was granted by the greater part, and the visitation adjourned to York;[1] aganst which day appointed, Mr. Whittingham had gott councell from London, to strengthen him against bothe those former objections, whereunto the *non obstante* in his patent sufficed to fre him.

The visitation then at York being ended, without any certeyn adjournment,[2] neither any sentence or matter given or done against

being spiritual chancellor under Bishop Pilkington, and for a short time under Bishop Barnes, he would have more influence than Swift. Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 183, *et seq.*

[1] This was in August 1578. About this time, on 30th September, 1578, when Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, assigned the preachers for the diocese for the year from Michaelmas 1578 to 1579, he gave twelve sermons to Mr. Dean, of which four were in Durham, one in Chester, and one in Lancaster. *Injunctions, &c., of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham*, p. 82, *Surtees Soc.*

[2] There was great difference of opinion among the commissioners themselves. The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President, refused to agree to Whittingham's dismissal, on the ground of imperfect ordination, "for it will be ill taken by all the godly and learned, both at home and abroad, that we should allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of ministers made in a reformed church." He urged rectification of the disorders of the chapter, blaming their irregular ways, embezzling of revenues, &c., and especially censuring Archdeacon Pilkington and young Bunny, as "precise men who worked all the trouble." Strype, *Annals Reform.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 173.

On the other hand, the Archbishop of York writes to the Lord Treasurer on April 4, 1579, from Bishopthorpe, that "This Durham matter breedeth a great broil. The Dean hath gotten more friends than the matter deserveth. The discredit of the church of Geneva is hotly alleged. Verily, my lord, that church is not touched; for he hath not received his ministry in that church, or by any authority or order from that church, so far as yet can appear. Neither was there any English church in Germany that attempted the like; neither needed they to have done, having among themselves sufficient ministers to supply the room. But if his ministry, without authority of God or man, without law, order, or example of any church, may be current, take heed to the sequel. Who seeth not what is intended? God deliver his church from it! I will never be guilty of it." He concludes with a request not to be further made a party in this Durham matter. Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 620—1, Oxf. edit. A full account of the affair is given in Strype, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 167—175. An indefinite adjournment was the inevitable result of these differences.

him, Mr. Whittingham went up to the privy councell, to move that they would call in the commission,[1] signifying what had bin done in the matter already ; but his sure freind that he had of the councell (as is aforesaid) alleadged that the Bishop had more matter to urge aganst him ; whereupon lettres were sent to the Archbishop to send some to alleadge against Mr. Whittingham, or else the commission would be called in.[2] Whereupon two doctors of the civill law, dependants on the Archbishop, were sent up to object against Mr. Whittingham, who, after two or three hearings before the Privy Councell, one of the Lords asked him if their master had nothing to doe but to send such a couple, &c. to object such ydle matters against such a man as Mr. Whittingham was knowne to be of the most of that borde ; and soe the objectors returned as they came, &c.[3]

But still his true freind, seeing him dayly to decline more and more in his health and spirits, and being oppressed with soe long troubles, great expences, and tædious delays, did even then move that Mr. Whittingham (there being then occasion to send an ambassador into France,) might be sent thether ; whereupon Mr. Whittingham asked the said freind of his if he thought it not sufficient to seeke to bereave him of his livinge, but of his life alsoe, he

[1] Strype, in his *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 173, says that the Lord President wrote that there was a manifest desire, on the reading of the commission, to deal first with the Dean, but at length the commissioners consented to deal with general disorders, which took so long that they adjourned to Auckland in November. This was the date of Whittingham's journey to London, for his second certificate, sent to the Commissioners, is dated from London, 15 Nov. 1578 (Appendix p. 42), and had been there three months before Candlemas Day, February 2, 1579.

[2] Archbishop Sandys, in legislating upon a similar case several years later, declared that had Whittingham lived he had been deprived, without special grace and dispensation. Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 481.

[3] There were not wantings erious grounds of accusation against the Dean connected with Durham Cathedral, which his biographer has thought fit to omit.

He made a profit of £20 by taking down and selling the high leaden roof in the Frater-house (Refectory), and making it a flat roof instead. He intended to take down and sell a peal of four bells which hung in the Galilee steeple, but was forestalled by Thomas Spark, the Bishop's suffragan, who removed three of them, at

seing him in such weaknesse and debility, both of body and spiritt, altogeather unfitt for such imployment.

But Mr. Whittingham still labouring to gett the commission called in, (having tarried there alreadie a quarter of a yeare, with eight serving men and all their horses, and in winter, to his excessive charge,) his true freind had now found out a new colour of delay; to witt, that after Easter (it then being about Candlemas) the Bishop would come up to the Parlament,[1] and soe Mr. Whittingham might now goe downe, and then come up againe to heare what the Bishops themselves would object against him, as though the Bishopps could alleadge more then they had given in instructions to the doctors, their proxies.

his own cost of £30 or £40, to the gardens, leaving one still standing over the Galilee. He removed the marble and freestone slabs that covered the graves of the priors of Durham; had them used for troughs for horses and hogs, and some employed to construct a washing-house. By a kind of retributive justice, his own tombstone in Durham Cathedral was destroyed by the Scots in 1640. Greenwell's *Notes on Durham Wills and Inventories*, pt. 2, p. 16. Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 146.

He removed from the cathedral two holy-water stones; one he placed in his own kitchen, where it was used for steeping beef and salt fish; the other his widow took away with her to a house in the North Bailey, whither she removed, and put it in her kitchen, carrying away also other stones, as gravestones, &c., which she required, and which remained till a superstitious feeling arising from many deaths in the house led to their restoration to the abbey-yard.

Worse still, on the pretence of executing the instructions of the Queen's Commissioners for the removal of superstitious books and ornaments, the Dean broke up and defaced in a fit of iconoclastic zeal an image of St. Cuthbert, which he found standing by the parlour-door (door of the old locutorium), in the east alley of the cloisters; and his wife, getting into her hands the long venerated banner of St. Cuthbert, which had more than once been a rallying point in times of conflict, especially in the battle of the Standard in 1138, "did most injuriously burn and consume the same in her fire, in the notable contempt and disgrace of all ancient and goodly reliques." Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 449. *Rites of Durham*, pp. 23, 33, 34, 52, 53, 64, 69, *Surtees Soc.* Surtees's *Durham*, vol. i. p. lxxii.

[1] No Parliament actually met between that of 18 Eliz., which commenced its sittings on February 18, 1576, and 1581; but there were sundry prorogations, and it was probably expected to meet earlier.

Thus you may see how Mr. Whittingham was opprest, though having proved himselfe innocent after soe many tryalls; by which heavy hand soe carried over him, he was forced to come downe without obteining his just request, which he tooke very greivously. And though, at his returne to Durham, a great many of the better sort of the city and country went to meet him, the bells rung, and the people came running from all parts of the citie, in such number as the streets were scantly passable for the multitude who, with doubled and trebled acclamations of joy, strived to exhilirate his hart after all his troubles, but yet all was in vaine; for within four dayes after his returne, he betooke himselfe to his bed, and never left it till he departed this life, being nine weeks after.[1]

And now it is requisite that I should mention what hapned concerning him in the time of his soe long languishing sicknesse; how he passed it over, and what was the manner of his death. The Archbishop, whose malice did not cease to pursue him till death, did certifie the lords of the counsel that Mr. Whittingham kept his bed pretending sicknesse, and had used some words of vaunting; whereof the councell, by their lettre dated 3 May, 1579 (yet to be shewed), did advertise him. Whereupon he returning his answer to the lords, Sir Francis Walsingham, the principal secretarie, writt to him, as followeth :—

" After my harty commendations. I have received your lettres of the 24 of the last, and, according to your desire, presented your letters to the lords, who, having seen and read the same, have willed me to signifie unto you that they take them in good part, allowing soe far forth of your answer to the hard suggestions made unto them aganst you, as that they mind to suspend their judgments of the information of the speeches you were said to have uttered, untill

[1] The biographer here regards Whittingham as a martyr to his obedience to the statutes in resisting the Archbishop of York; whereas the Archbishop probably knew of the havoc Whittingham had committed in the cathedral; and his adversary, if the Romish prebendary Bennett, might conscientiously consider Whittingham's consecration invalid.

your repair up hither, to satisfy them more fully by word of mouth; and the delay of your coming they have resolved by your said lettre to growe of the great weaknesse of your body, which they take to be noe matter fained, but a truth. Wishing, if it please God, to send you as perfect recovery as yourself desireth, and soe I bid you hartily farewell. From the Court, the 1st of June, 1579.

"Your loving freind,

"FRA. WALSINGHAM.

"To the right worshipfull my very loving freind, Mr. Whittingham, Deane of Durham."

This lettre, being dated the 1st of June, and he dying the 10th of June, it preceeded his death but nine dayes; whence may be observed, by these lettres above mentioned, that the malice of his adversaries did soe hotly pursue him as would not afford him a time of rest from their vexation to dye in. And yet all this storme grew only of this (as wee have heard), for that he made a conscience to avoide the breach of his oath, and to maintaine the liberties of the church wherunto he was sworne; which case is soe strange (that for a matter soe good, soe just, soe conscionable, a man should be so persecuted, and that even by those who by their functions are tied to instruct and exhort to vertue, and to such actions as a very good Christian is tied unto,) as it cannot be paraleled; and therfore who can heare this and not say with the poet—

"Jupiter, hoc cernis: ne vindice fulmine pugnas?
Tuque, Astrea, sinis jura sacrata premi?"

But neither yet was God wanting to punish the malice and wickednesse shewed in this action, neither to take in hand the defence and revenge of the cause of the innocent; for that he shewed such signes of his revenging hand upon five or six of the principall agents in this businesse against Mr. Whittingham, and that soe soone after his death, as it grew to be noted of all men, and of the best ranke, as a heavy judgment of God upon them, for their malicious plotts and pursuits against him. And as he was first in place of the action,

whome we have before mentioned, soe was he the first that was plagued for his iniquityes ; for being att London, farre from home, fell mad, and in soe high degree as he was espied soe to be in the streets, as he went up and downe, being at last followed by the boyes and children with wondermente, as crowes doe after [*blank*] and soe he went to Ware, and there died in that pitifull case.

The rest had great blemishes in their lifetimes, and in their death some of them had a judgment accompaning them. I doe of purpose absteine either from particulating those judgments (but of the first which was soe notorious to all), or nominating of any of the parties, least the parties should be easily found out ; for I neither desire nor delight in laying aspersions on them, much lesse on the dead, and soe long since, but that the necessity of the history hath enforced me ; and therin have I stryven to be as obscure as I could, not betraying the historie, even for charity sake towards the dead, and soe I desire to be construed, lest, whilest I declare other men's malice, I should shew myselfe to want charitie.

To this I may adde, by way of note, that as the former opposite went not scot-free who persecuted Mr. Whittingham, soe Deane Hutton, ever standing with Mr. Whittingham, was after advanced to the bishoprick of Durham, and after to be Archbishop of Yorke.[2]

And having now declared the occasion and proces of the crosses which Mr. Whittingham susteined in the cause aforementioned, it is fit and convenient that the manner of his death, and carriage in his long languishing sicknesse be also declared. Soe soone as he kept his bed, he sent for some of his freinds, and by their advise he made his will ;[3] which after it was done, he willed those that

[1] The conjecture has already been hazarded (*note* 4, p. 30,) that this chief opponent of Whittingham was Wm. Bennett, prebendary and spiritual chancellor ; and it derives strength from the fact that Bennett resigned his prebend in 1579, within a few months after Whittingham's death, probably on account of madness, and died in 1583.

[2] His favour to Whittingham was afterwards made an article of accusation against himself. Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 463.

[3] It bears date 18 April, 1579. In it he thanks God for calling him from the blindness of idolatry and superstition to be partaker of the blessed light of his Gospel, and making him a preacher of his holy ministry. He divides his goods into

were about him that none should henceforth troble him with any worldly matters; and, though he continued languishing about nine weeks after in his bed, he would seldome admitt any company to come to him, unlesse some speciall freinds, and those also rarely; and being diverse times asked of his freinds why he was soe solitary, and would not delight in company which might help to alleviat his sicknesse, he would answer them, had he not company enough there? and would take up his Bible, and shew it them, which lay by him continually on his bed. Sometimes in his sicknesse, and diverse times, he would call all his servants, which were many, to come into his chamber, and would exhort them for an houre togeather to the feare of God, and privately would call them by one and by one, and tell them of such faults as he had suspected them to be guilty of, and did admonish them to leave them, shewing withall that he had bin too indulgent or negligent toward them, in not carrying a stricter hand over them; for this he did now find as great a burden in conscience as for any other his sins that he could remember, and did verily think that that negligence towards them had as much drawne these his late afflictions and crosses upon him as any other his sins whatsoever.

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three equal parts, bequeathing one to his wife, a second to his daughters Sarah, Judith, Deborah, and Elizabeth, when 24 years old or married; the portion of any that die to go to poor divinity students in Oxford or Cambridge. The third portion is bestowed in numerous legacies: £10 to poor householders in Durham; £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to poor strangers of the French church in London; to the Countesses of Huntingdon and Warwick each a book with a cover silver-gilt, value £10; to his two elder daughters £30; his cousin Rich. Whittingham £5; the rest in small sums of from £4 to 1*s.* 8*d.* to sundry persons, includjng his nurse and many servants, the petty canons, choristers, schoolmasters, &c.; Dr. Pilkington has a legacy of 10*s.* and his former coadjutors, Mr. Goodman and Mr. Gilby, each an old ryal. Residue to his wife, younger son Daniel, and two younger daughters.

Of his landed property, the manor of East and West Baulk, co. York, and rectory of Mitgarth, he leaves to his son Timothy, with reversion to Daniel and his daughters, reserving to his wife her thirds, and £400 profits towards the bringing up of his children, and making her sole tutor of the younger ones, the eldest son being a ward of the crown. *Durham Wills, edited by Rev. W. Greenwell for the Surtees Society*, pt. ii. pp. 14—19.

The biography of Dean Whittingham here ends, but his French-born widow claims a concluding notice. As stated in his will, she had a fair share of his property, and the guardianship of her younger children, but the breath could scarcely have been out of his body when she dispatched a messenger to London, to make two requests; one for the custody and marriage of her eldest son Timothy, who had become a Queen's ward, and the other for all debts due to her late husband at the time of his decease. Both were granted. On the 15th of June, a patent was issued in London granting her the wardship of her son,[1] and Secretary Walsingham consented to write to the vice-dean and chapter on her behalf.

Meanwhile, on the 16th of June, a decree was pronounced by Francis Bury, the vice-dean, and the chapter, that "Mistress Whittingham shall have answer to her bill touching all dueties that is behind to her late husband, our Deane deceased, and that she the same day shall answer the college all such duties as is behind."

On June 30th, at a meeting of the chapter, Mr. Vice-dean read the letter of Secretary Walsingham, and it was decreed that Mr. Ralph Lever shall indite the answer, as follows:—

The Lorde Jesus assiste your honour with His holye spirite! We have receyved your honour's letters in the behalf of Maistres Whittingham and her fatherlesse children. In which lettres your honour prayeth us to yeld vnto them all that was due to our late Deane at the tyme of his deathe, and not to withdrawe anye parte of hys quotidians, for the tyme of his last beinge at London; vnto which your honour's most godlye request we doo willinglye yelde, marvelinge whye anye should neede to procure lettres in this behalf, except it were to lett vs understande that he was absent from us by comaundement, to attend upon our Lords of her Majesty's most honorable Privie Councell. And if they were for that end, then doo we take your honour's lettres to be a sufficient proofe that he had good cause of absence, and such as by our Statutes is to be allowed of: notwithstanding if they had lacked such proofe, yett eche one of us wold have yelded herin, as well at your honour's request,

[1] Patent Roll, 21 Eliz.

as also to lett the worlde see that we never meante to deale hardlye withe anye, muche lesse withe wedowes and fatherlesse children.

Thus, wishinge to have your honour's healpe that a good man maye be our Deane, we comitt your honor to the tuition of the Almightye. From Duresme the last of June, 1579.

Your honor's most humble to commande,
The subdeane and prebendaries of Duresme.

FRA. BURY, Vicedecanus.
JOHN PILKINGTON.
RO. BELLAMYE.
RAPHE LEVER.
PETER SHAWE.
LEO. PILKINGTON.
GEO. CLIFFE.

To the right honorable Sir Frances Walsingham, knight, principall Secretarye to the Queene's Majestie.[1]

A few months later Whittingham's successor, Thomas Wilson, writing to the vice-dean, says—"I understand the widow Whittingham is to be called before you, for some matters of moment, that not only touch you all in general, but also myself in particular. For the profits of the deanery due to me since her husband's departure, which I have by grant from Her Majestie, I pray you call her to account, and also require her to shew unto you what leases she hath of the house, without concealment of any of them. October 22, 1579."

Our next record of Katherine Whittingham is a curious incident recorded in 1583. She was accused by a neighbour, Margaret Key, wife of Francis Key, master of the grammar school, of defaming her character by reporting that she had had a child before marriage. Margaret first mentioned the report to Mrs. Whittingham in an evening walk in the dean's garden, in Michaelmas 1583. Mrs. Whittingham's answer was, "I do not say that you had any child before

[1] From the Durham Chapter Archives.

you were married, but I say that I have *heard* that you had a child before you were married, but I will not say that it is true; do your worst, I will not fly the country."

A few days later, the aggrieved Mrs. Key's husband went, and several others with him, to call upon Mrs. Whittingham at her own house. He spoke first with her, but when she saw the others, she exclaimed, "Do ye bring witnesses with you? Then do what you can, do what you *dare*; I said I *heard* so, but I do not say it is true. Do ye come to me more than to others?" She then named several persons from whom she had heard the report, adding "Ask of the boys of the grammar school, and sue me at York, sue me at London, I will answer you." She was sued, but only in Durham, and the result of the suit does not appear.[1]

The last mention found of her is her will,[2] dated December 9, 1590. She bequeaths her mansion and dwelling-house in the North Bailey, and also her lands in France near Orleans, inherited from her father, to her son Timothy. Her houses in Kingsgate, near the Bow Church, Durham, to Daniel. All her armour and warlike furniture to her sons, and her grandson Robert Birkhead; and after sundry bequests of furniture, plate, books, &c. including the "Actes and Monuments of the Church," and her "great French Bible," she divides the rest between her daughter Judith, then the only one unmarried, and the children of her daughter Birkhead.

[1] *Depositions from the Courts of Durham*, pp. 314—316, *Surtees Society*.

[2] *Durham Wills*, pp. 15, 16, edited by Rev. W. Greenwell, for the *Surtees Society*.

APPENDIX No. I.

Mr. W[illiam] W[hittingham,] now Deane of Durresme, hath not proved that he was orderly made minister at Geneva, acccording to the order of Geneva, by public authority established there.

The objection ags Mr. W[hittingha

In the third article objected against Mr. W. W[hittingham] it is affirmed that he is neyther deacon nor minister according to the lawes of this realme, but a mere lay man.

His answere to th objection, which i tripartite.

By way of answere, he confesseth that he is neyther deacon nor minister according to the order and lawes of this realme, but that he is a mere lay man he denieth. For (saith he) in his answere to the third article, I was ordered in Queen Marie's tyme in Geneva, according to the forme ther used, which I think (saith he) to be one in effect and substance with the forme now used in England, or allowed of in King Edward's tyme, which order of myne was as agreeable to the laws of this realme as any other forme, untyll 8 year of the Queen's Majesty's raigne. This is the sum of his answere to that article.

The severall consi rations of the part larities of his answ

To his confession, viz., that he is not deacon nor minister according to the lawes of this realme, I add her Majesty's letter wrote to the Archbishop of York, my lord and master, commanding us the commissioners, chifely and above all other things, we should enquire of his ministrey, and lymiting how, if he be not ordered by some superior authoritie, according to the lawes and statutes of our realme, "then my express pleasure and commanding is," (saith her Majesty) &c. What [we] as commissioners, as her majesty's subjects were to do in this s[ame], her Majesty's laws being correspondent and redy for the execution of her Majesty's commandment, I urge not, but leave to your honourable consideration.

The later part of his answere is wholly untrue, but I impute hit to his gnorance, which is the less excusable, because hit is "ignorantia iuris." For in the first year of her Majesty's raigne, in the same moment of tyme and by the same authoritie that Queen Marie's ordering was repealed, King Edward's was revived; and many lerned and godly ministers were made before the eight yere and synce the first of her Majesty's raigne. Mary [Marry?], in 8 yere, and uppon some doubte in Bonner's case, a farther

State of the question is in facto.

additional declaration and confirmation was made of King Edward's statute for ordering of ministers and consecrating of bysshops. The middest of his answere conteyneth the state of the question in fact; whether or no, he were made minister in Geneva, according to the order of Geneva.

His first profe.

For profe thereof on his behofe and part, he hath exhibited two sertificates, the first exhibited by himself at Durrisme, dated no where for the place, for the tyme hit bare the date of the 8 of July, in the twentieth yere of her Majesty's raigne, subscribed by eight persons. That sertificate had these words of testificacion. Hit pleased God, by lote and election of the whole English congregacion ther, orderly to chuse Mr. W. W[hittingham] to the office of preaching the word of God, and ministering the sacraments.

The worde of the first sertificate.

The defect of the first certificate consisteth in three poyntes.

With this sertificate 3 fautes were found—first, that hit might have byn made in Mr. W[hittingham's] chamber, for anything that did appear in the sertificate to the contrarye. 2°. That they were witnesses, but not sworen, and therefore not to be credited. "Testi non iurato non creditur." Which in common persons as they were, (under the state of nobilitie, which in this realme onely hathe that privileg) is undoubtedlye true. 3°.—Th'archbishop, my lord and master, layd hold on these woordes: "by lote and election," offering greatly that neyther in Geneva, nor in any reformed church in Europe, hit culd be proved that any such order was ever used or allowed of, first and last only hit was seen used in Matthias the Apostle. For the confirmacion of his opinion, he avouched Mr. Calvin, who affirmeth that that election was not nor is not to be drawen into example. In this poynt Mr. Deane of York and Mr. Archdecon Ramsden dyd not disagre from my lord.

A second profe by a second sertificate by amendment of the * * of the first sertificate.

Agaynst our next meeting at York, a moneth after and moore, Mr. Deane exhibited an other sertificate, subscribed with the same persons, one of the eight changed, and an other set in his place, with the amendment of those fautes which were in the first sertificate, as they culd be amended: for first, hit was dated at London, 15 November then folowing;

The worde of the second sertificate.

secondly, they were sworn uppon the holy Evangelists, before one Paule Tilte, a public notary, as he saith of himself; lastly, lote and election was torned in to suffrages. Hit pleased God by the suffrages of the whole (Englyshe) was left out, orderly to chuse Mr. W. W[hittingham] unto the office of preaching the woorde of God, and ministering His sacra-

ments. Farther, they say, that he was admitted minister, and so published, with such other seremonies as ther is used and accustomed. Here is all that Mr. Deane hath brought for the profe of the fact, viz., that he was made minister at Geneva, according to the order ther.

The insufficiency of the second sertificate in probation of the fact, consisteth also in three poyntes.

Briefly, I say, this is no proofe of the fact, especially for three causes: First, although I have nothing in specie to object agaynst the witnesses, for I know them not but Mr. John Bodley, whom for his integritie of life and just dealing in the world I beleve to be an honest man, yet in g[eneral], by their contraritie and diversitie in sertifying, they have greatly discredited themselves, and diminished the faith that otherwise might have byn given them. The selfsame men, of the one and selfsame thing, to depose after one manner in July, and after another in November folowing, are to be suspected as too affectioned to the cause.

Secondly, your honour's judgment humbly reserved, hit is agaynst all equitie of law or reason that judges, such especially as were imediately deputed from the person of her highnes, "supremâ suâ authoritate," shuld be tyed in consciene and knowleg to geve credite and direct our judgments according to the sayings of men whom we never saw, whom we never knew; examined in London, we being in York, withowt our knowleg, withowt our licenc or authoritie, for the performanc thereof: "Testibus, non testimoniis, credendum est; alia est enim authoritas presentium testium, alia testimoniorum, quæ recitari solent." And this is so sure a ground and so agreeable to reason and nature, that if a cause be delegated "juris solemnitate omissâ," yet "testimonia," which a man may bring into the curt in his purse or his poket, are so far from making a proof as they do not so much as make "indicium probationis;" but "testes præsentes," whom the judges may vewe "quo vultu, quâ constantiâ, quâ animi trepidatione testificentur," and that in the presenc of the avers party, which the law of nature requireth, who might propose exceptions agaynst the persons and sayings of the witnesses, with interrogatories if he listed, to the easier and better serch of the truth. If this had byn don, or if this shalbe don, the truth of this matter shall fall into a more open light and fullness then yet hit hath done; especially in the most materiall poyntes wherin the witnesses yeld no reason of their sayings, and therefore not to be credited; and wherin the later sertificate is coningly but yet insufficiently penned:— "admitted minister," they tell not by whom, which of necessitie ought to

have byn expressed; "and so published, with such other ceremonies as ther is used and accustomed." Here, under your honor's correction, ceremonies is referred to publication, and not to admission, but I graunt hit be referred to both, yet it cometh to short. For altho hit be generally true that a thing ones don is presumed to be don with all due ceremonies, yet that rule, as all other for the most part, hath his restrictions and limitations, and namely, in Mr. W[hittingham's] case in this question of fact. "In ordinibus conferendis plures sunt solemnitates, aliæ internæ, aliæ externæ." Internæ be thre; "ætas, morum gravitas, literarum scientia." Externæ, be two, "authoritas ordinantis" and "forma ordinationis." If, after a number of years, any man be denied to be a minister, becaus at his ordering he had not years sufficient, or wanted lerning or honestie, if he prove the external solemnities "authoritatem ordinantis," (which, by Buser's opinion, ought to be a bishop or superintendent,) and "formam ordinationis," which chifely consisteth in imposition of hands, the interne ceremonies are to be presumed, and so this doctrine is to be understanded, under your honor's correction and pardon. But if it be denied, as hit is by Mr. W[hittingham,] that he or they that ordered had any authoritie at all to call him, or that he was not ordered according to the prescript other of the commonwelth wherein he was made minister, these solemnities becaus they are "facti" are not presumed, unless they be expressly proved; "facta non presumantur, nisi expressim probentur."

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Agayne, my lord, wher the law doth require a solemnitie to be expressly proved, as hit doth in the minister for externe solemnities, the presumption of law will not suffice. That imposition of hands is, as well by the judgment of the devines as lawers, of necessitie to be required, Mr. Calvin is very playne in his 4. booke of his Instit. ca. 3, sect. 16, wher first he saith that the apostles used no other ceremonies, "non alia ceremonia usa sunt, cum aliquem ministerio admonebant, quam manuum impositione." 2°, he saith, "fuit hic solemnis ritus quoties ad ministerium ecclesiasticum aliquem vocabant. Sic pastores, et doctores, sic diaconos consecrabant." And although ther be no certayn and expresse commandment for imposition of hands; "qui tamen (saith he,) fuisse in perpetuo usu apostolis, videmus, illa tam accurata eorum observatio præcepti vice nobis esse debet."

of hands
ng a mi-
red of ne-

There is of late years a book writen in very good laten, very methodi-

cally and lernedlye, the author's name is conceled, it is entitled "De disciplinâ ecclesiastica," which saith in these words: "Post designationem quæ electione fit, ceremonia quædam adhibentur, quibus designatus tanquam possessionem muneris sui accipiat. Hæc autem ordinatio quam appellamus, in duobus fere ceremoniis, præcibus nimirum et manuum impositione consistit, sub quibus etiam et muneris explicatione complector. Hac enim (manuum viz. impositione) simplicissimâ ceremoniâ Evangelium contentum est ministros suos quasi investire." This was practised by Paule in making of ministers, "commonefacio te, ut suscites donum Dei quod in te est, per impositionem manuum mearum." This was commanded by Paule to be used by others when they made ministers, "manus cito ne cui imponas." Mr. W[hittingham] is so far from proving of these materiall poyntes, as he hath not so much as alleged them. And therefore, to us as judges, ther is no such matter to be proved. "Idem est, non esse et non apparere."

Sufficient matter not alleged, much less proved by Mr. W[hittingham.]

Mr. W[hittingham] being thus defective in proving the fact in the question of his ministre obstinately refused to conforme himself to the order of this realme, as appeareth by his confession to the 6 article of the positions additionalls; for whenas he was privately and friendly moved by my lord of Durrisme, now his ordinary, to conforme himselfe to her majestie's laws, he first dowbted and required tyme of deliberation; uppon deliberation he gave answere he wold not. He that shall witingly and disobediently (lyving in any nationall church in the world, taking livings in that church as a member thereof) cut himself from the unitie of that church, if hit be "in articulis fidei vel in sacramentis, est hæreticus;" if "in ritibus et ceremoniis, est scismaticus." The particular application I refer to your honourable consideration.

Mr. W[hittingham's] singularite or refusal of conformitie.

The peyne of singularitie in churchmen.

Lastly, And please your Honour: Ther be ij poyntes in the ministre chifely to be respected, the one relying on God's word, the other on man's authoritie. When a man is called to the ministre, he is authorized to preach, to minister the sacraments and other things expressed in God's book, incident to his office, and may do hit without man's law. But he can not call himself; "quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur? Nemo assumit sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatus est, tanquam Aaron:" who shall call him, in what forme, when, how, and such other ceremonies, is not put down in God's word, but left to the Christian practice. Unless,

ij things in every ministre's ordering to be respected.

therefore, Mr. Whittingham prove he was made minister at Geneva, according to the law ther, if hit were "aut contra aut præter formam specificam jure Genevensi publico stabilitam," he was neyther minister ther, nor here now is, "quod contra legem factum est nullam habet firmitatem."

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Brifely and humbly to recapitulate to your Honour the sum of this my rude and simple speeche. How greatly Mr. W[hittingham] hath intangled himself within the danger of her Majestie's lawes generally, and her highenes' commandment particularly, his owne confession (which is repugnant to both) doth manifestly declare. The defect of his first sertificate for the truth of the matter, the unsufficiency of the second in the probation of the fact, the necessitie of imposition of hands omitted, his contempt in conforming himself, uppon his ordinari's admonition, to her Majesty's lawes; his simplicitie in separating himself from the unitie of this English church, be such matters as my lord and master, placed under God and her Majestie chifest in the north over ecclesiasticall persons, can not but greatly fere, as a sparkell of scisme contemned that may grow to a flame of division. He doubteth not but your Honors will provyd for hit, and therefore humbly prayeth hit may not be remitted. *Domestic Papers*, temp. Eliz. vol. cxxx. No. 23, *Public Record Office.*

An abstract is printed, but with considerable omissions, in Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 170—175.

APPENDIX No. II.

A note or breviarie of confessions and proofs against Mr. William Whittingham, in the Quenes Majesties Visitation of the Churc of Durresme.

1. No lawful minister.	That he is no minister, according to the lawes or statutes, or ordinances of this realme. .	By himselfe confesse
2. Not graduate as he ought to be.	That he is not graduate, as the deane of that churche ought to be, by the statute of the same, viz.: Sacræ Theologiæ professor, Baccalaureus ne vel Juris Doctor.	Confessed as afore.
3. Irregular.	That, notwithstanding the premisses, he hath ministered the Holy Communion. . .	Confessed.
4. Schismatick.	That he is a misliker of the English Church Service	Partlie proved.
5. Seditious.	That he was a furtherer to the setting forthe of the wicked book against the lawfull regiment of women.	Proved by one witnes and the book extan with an epistle to it i his name printed large.
6. An adulterer and dronkard. So defamed.	That he is defamed of adulterie. . .	Partly proved.
	Dronkennes.	Proved.
7. A slander to the ministerie. So defamed.	That he is offensive and slanderous to the ministerie.	Partlie proved.
8. Of an evill mynde.	That he threatened the overthrowe of Durham Churche.	Proved.

A dilapidacon.	That he hath bene a dilapidator of the state of the churche, in leasing his own corpes of the deanrye, and of other the prebends.[1] In taking the treasure, common rents, many common commodities, and converting them to his owne use. In neglecting to give authoritie to leavy arrerages, whereby they are growen to be great, and some of them desperate. In denieng to grant authoritie to defend sutes, whereby the churche hath latelie lost xxx[li] a yeare. In spoiling the woods. In prodigall wasting the house-treasure, as cc. marks in one iorney, beside vij[xx] for wyne and sugar, and other spices.	Proved.
b. Perjured	That he hathe broken divers statutes of the said church, whereunto he was sworne, as well in the premisses, as in keping chapters forth of the chapter house; in sealing leases not before registered; in not distributing the almes-money and accompting for it; in omitting negligently ordinary chapter dayes; and in evell keping the registers and evidence of the churche, and so consequentlie hath committed perjurye. .	Proved.
1. His ministerie unproved.	His pretended priesthoode or ministerie of Geneva order.	Not sufficiently pr
2. His testimoniall not proved.	His reading of the B testimoniall of his assent and subscription to th'articles of relligion, according to the statute of Anno xiij Dominæ Reginæ nunc	Unproved.

Endorsed— A breviarie of proofs against the Deane of Dur

Domestic Papers, temp. Elizabeth, vol. cxxx. No. 24.

[1] This is the Corpus land—the separate estate specially appointed to the dea each prebendary.

THE

EARL OF BRISTOL'S DEFENCE

OF HIS

NEGOTIATIONS IN SPAIN.

EDITED,

FROM MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXI.

PREFACE.

In the Hardwicke State Papers (i. 494) is printed a paper, entitled: "The answers of the Earl of Bristol to certain interrogatories intended for his Majesty's private satisfaction, with a reserve for a permission of making recourse to such other things as may be further necessary to his clearing." It consists of twenty questions put to Bristol after his return from Spain in 1624, together with his replies. The seventh interrogatory and its answer are as follows:

Why did you so confidently inform his Majesty from time to time of their real and sincere proceeding in Spain, having been acquainted before with the affront put upon his Majesty with the breach of the treaty concerning the match of Prince Henry?

Answer. To the first part of the seventh interrogatory, he saith, he never gave his Majesty any hopes of their real proceedings in Spain, but the same that were then given him without adding or diminishing; neither could he have done otherwise with honesty and safety. Further, the hopes he gave were neither upon conjectures or vain intelligence, but upon all the assurances both in word and writing that could pass between Princes and Christians. And if the despatch he wrote to his Majesty, bearing date the 9th of September, 1623, may but be perused, he no way doubteth but it will appear that he was not deceived, but served his Majesty with no less care and vigilancy than with truth and fidelity. Lastly, he saith he had reason to give such hopes as he did of that which he never doubted but that it would take effect until after the stay of the *desposorios*. As for the inference concerning the match of Prince Henry, it being ten or twelve years since, we have many fresh examples that states alter their resolutions in their designs, and many times their alliances in much shorter time. But for that the giving a due answer unto this point by deducing business from Prince Henry's time unto this present, would be greater length than befitteth this answer, he will, *in a paper apart*, set down the whole progress of the busines from the year 1611 unto this present time, wherein he no way doubteth but to make it appear to his Majesty that he hath served him like a good and faithful servant.

This paper apart, probably delivered at the same time, that is to say, about July 10, 1624, is now printed from Tanner MSS. lxxiii.

fol. 449, and containing, as it does, statements of events some of which are not known upon any other authority, may be regarded as a valuable accession to our knowledge of the period. The MS. is not in Bristol's own hand, but is either a contemporary copy, or at least one of a not much later date than the original. To this has been added a further explanation given by Bristol to Buckingham on the 16th of March, 1625, which is to be found amongst the Domestic State Papers (clxxxv. 59, ii.) These two papers, together with Bristol's answers to the interrogatories printed in the Hardwicke State Papers, and his reply to the charges brought against him when he was impeached in 1626, contain all that he thought fit to say in defence of his political conduct.

In order, however, that the reader may have present before him the circumstances under which the defence was made, I have thought it would be worth while to put together an account of the treatment which he received after his return from Spain. Unless I am much mistaken, there will be few, even amongst those who have no sympathy whatever with Bristol as a politician, who will not learn to respect the character of the man. If I have allowed my extracts to run to more than usual length my excuse must be, that, being almost entirely from unpublished documents in the Record Office, or in Mr. Digby's collection at Sherborne Castle, I have reason to believe that they will be for the most part new to members of the Society, and that it seemed better to let the characters speak for themselves than to allow them to express themselves through the medium of my mind.

On the 22nd of January, 1624, soon after receiving his letters of recall, Bristol wrote from Madrid to Secretary Calvert.[1] He was,

[1] Bristol to Calvert, Jan. 22. S. P. Spain.

he said, in a very difficult position. He must travel homewards with his " wife, children, and a familye of above fourescore persons, with a necessitye of returning through France, having noe meanes to passe by sea, and noe kind of care of" him, " nor any one pennye of moneye," though 6,000*l.* were due to him from the Exchequer. He would borrow 4,000*l.* for his journey, and hoped it might be repaid from the sum owing to him. In a letter to the King[1] written on the same day, after protesting that, if he had erred, it was out of ignorance, he said:—

I shall onelie presume to be a most humble suytour unto your Majestie for one thinge which your Majestie hath beene pleased often gratiouslye to promise me, and uppon it to give me your hande to kisse—that I shoulde never be condemned by you or cast out of your favour, untill I should have appeared in your presence, and had a gratious hearing. I therefore begg it of your Majestie on my knees that I may appeare before you without prejudice or disfavour, and in leiw[2] of this grace and goodnesse of your Majesties I shall most willinglie submitt myselfe to have my punishment doubbled in anie kinde I shall be fownde faultie.

Would James keep his promise, or rather would Charles and Buckingham, by whom the old King was now directed, allow him to keep it?

On the 29th of January Bristol took leave of the King of Spain, Philip giving him a ring " which he took off his finger, wishing him to wear it in memorie of him who would ever be his friend."[3] But Bristol was unable to start at once. The 4,000*l.* which he intended to borrow were not to be had without better security than

[1] Bristol to James I. Jan. 22. S. P. Spain.

[2] In lieu of, *i.e.* in exchange for. So in the *Tempest*, Act 1, Sc. 2.

> This King of Naples, being an enemy
> To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit;
> Which was, that he, *in lieu of* the premises
> Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,
> Should presently extirpate me and mine
> Out of the dukedom.

[3] Aston to Conway, Feb. 7. S. P. Spain.

his own engagement. It was only by pawning his plate that he was able to obtain money for his journey, and to set out on the 17th of March.[1]

The following letter, written by him on his way home to the Prince's secretary, shows the temper in which he approached England:—

Good Mr. Secretary Cottington. Ther is noe man living knoweth better then yourselfe how zealous I have bene unto the Prince's service, and whilest I thought he desyred the match, I was for it against all the world; now the treatye is ended the world shall see I never hadd nor will have anye affections of myne owne, but will wholye follow my master's, as I have written unto you in my former letters, and have not these foure moneths spoken a woorde in the marriadg. If his Majestye and the Prince will have a warr I will spende my life and fortunes in it without so much as replying, in what quarrell so ever it be, and agaynst whomsoever it be, and of thus much I intreate yow lett his High[ness] be informed by yow, and I intreate yow lett me knowe his directions, what he will have me doe, and how to behave my selfe at his feete, which I desyre to doe the first thing after my landing, to the end that understanding his pleasure I may comitt noe errour. I beseech yow to dispatch this bearer backe unto me with all possible speede, though it be with noe on word more, but what the Prince will have me doe, wherwith I shall come *muy consolado*.

I understande that I have bene much bownd unto the Prince for the procuring the foure thowsand powndes to be payd, and for my pension. I prayow present unto him my most humble thankes, and I confesse I have bene much more comforted with that demonstration of his favour then I can be with the monye.

I doubt not but at this time I shall have the effects of a reall frendship from yow in this particular; and so, desyring to have my service remembred unto my Lady Cottington, I rest

Your faythfull friende to serve yow,
BRISTOL.

I pray yow move the Prince that on of the Kinges shipps may be presently appointed to waft me over, for I have a greate cargo[2] of the Prince's with me.

Poictiers, the 15th of April, 1624, st° vet.[3]

[1] Abstract of Aston's letter. March 29. S. P. Spain.

[2] The jewels presented to the Infanta, and now returned. Bristol was obliged, as he afterwards complained, to cross the sea without any protection.

[3] Bristol to Cottington, April 15, 1624. Harl. MSS. 1580, fol. 138.

It is plain that Bristol had no intention of throwing himself into opposition to the Court. His ideas, on this head, were much the same as Bacon's. His tongue was his own never to say that to be right which he thought to be wrong; but his actions were his master's, and he was ready to carry out to the best of his ability any policy which might be enjoined upon him.

That James, if he had been left to himself, would have welcomed back his faithful servant can hardly admit of a doubt. But this was the very thing which Buckingham dreaded. If Bristol and James were once together, he thought, there would soon be an end of the King's new anti-Spanish policy. At all hazards the two men must be kept apart. Buckingham's first thought was to have Bristol sent to the Tower. He talked over the plan with Pembroke and Hamilton, but Pembroke and Hamilton, though neither of them were friends of Spain, would hear nothing of it.[1] The result of this conversation was that Buckingham contented himself with the equally effective measure which is enounced in the next letter,[2] written on the 24th of April by Secretary Conway, and sent down to meet Bristol upon his arrival.

I have receved his Majesty's commandmen[t] to signify his pleasure and commandment to your Lordship, that you come not to Courte, nor to his presence, before his Majesty's further plesure and leave first obtained and signifyed to you, in countermand of this,. but you retyer yourselfe to your house or lodgeing,[3] and remayne there untell his Majesty's further plesure and directions shall be made knowen to you.

The letter was given to the Earl on his landing at Dover. On the 3d of May he replied from Canterbury in a letter to the King

[1] Bristol's answer. State Trials, ii. 1129; confirmed by Pembroke (ii. 1298), and to a great extent admitted by Buckingham (ii. 1298.)

[2] S. P. Dom. clxiii. 43.

[3] Rushworth (i. 145) erroneously sends Bristol at once to the Tower, having in his mind the Earl's later imprisonment in 1626.

himself.[1] Again reminding James of his promise, he renewed his request for a personal hearing. With the exception of a letter[2] of Conway's, referring to a different subject, the correspondence which immediately followed has not been preserved; but an extract from a letter written by the younger Dudley Carleton to his uncle,[3] on the 6th of May, shows that it was not believed at the time that James was in any way personally incensed against his late ambassador:—

My Lord of Bristoll is arrived and confined to his house in St. Giles feilds; but the opinion is that he will not fare the worse for that, but rather that we shall see him soone at Court with the King, who hath sent him kind messages, and hath lett him understand that within a day or two he will speake with him. It is not conceaved that he will be called to any strickt account, for feare he should discover matters too much in their owne colours.

This was, no doubt, the true state of the case. Without saying, as has been often asserted, that the statement upon the conduct of Charles in Madrid, put forward by the Prince and Buckingham, was absolutely false, it certainly passed over in silence many things which, if they had been divulged, would have put an instantaneous end to Charles's short-lived popularity. To let Bristol loose upon the world was dangerous. But then to bring him to trial was equally dangerous. It is therefore not surprising that on the 12th we find Chichester writing:—[4]

The Earle of Bristoll is directed to retyre himselfe to his lodginge; he hath not had as yet anie hearinge, nor anie thinge objected against him that I knowe off.

The next day[5] Chamberlain says that the King had visited Buckingham, who was at that time sick;

[1] S. P. Dom. clxiv. 13.
[2] S. P. Dom. clxiv. 33.
[3] S. P. Dom. clxiv. 44.
[4] S. P. Dom. clxiv. 68.
[5] S. P. Dom. clxiv. 71.

And, as I heare, dealt earnestly to reconcile him and the Earle of Bristowe, of whome we heare litle since his comming, but that he was willed to keepe his house, but had otherwise gracious messages from his Majestie. He carries himself boldly, and yt is saide there is a commission apointed to examine his busines, for into the Parlement yt must not come, because the Prince hath shewed himself a partie.

On the 15th Nethersole writes[1] that the Earl is "wondrous confident, and desireth nothing but to be brought to his triall." This, however, he added, could hardly be this session, on account of Buckingham's illness. Two years afterwards Bristol referred to what had passed on this occasion. "Being at my lodging," he said, "I petitioned the King that I might answer in the Parliament, and his Majesty said that the Parliament was so insensed against me that it was not safe for me to be brought thither, but within a few days I should have an end of my troubles."[2]

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of May. In the course of the month—the day is not given— Bristol had made the following overture to the Prince:—

I infinitely desyred to have come at my arrivall to have cast myselfe at your H[ighness's] feete, but, having receaved a commandement not to come into [the] Kinges presence, I dare not presume to offer to attend your Hig[hness] untill I shall have your particular leave. In the meane [time] I could not forbeare to make a most faythfull and most humble tender of myself unto your service, assuring your H[ighness] that, if ever I have deserved your H[ighness's] displeasure, it hath bene for wante of understanding your will. Neyther shall I comitt any faulte hereafter, if I may knowe your pleasure. The match with Spayne I faythfully endevored, as judging it much desyred by his Majestye and your H[ighness], and theruppon my affection wholy depended. For the treatye of the Palatinate I never wrote worde but what was sayde unto me, and I shall sufficiently proove. Any want of performance that shall have bene, the King of Spayne and his ministers have the faulte; but I hope it will not be reputed to me as any, for advertising trewly what they sayde.

To your High[ness's] pleasure in all things I shall conforme myself, and there-

[1] Nethersole to Carleton, May 15. S. P. Dom. clxiv. 86.
[2] State Trials, ii. 1296.

fore I desyre to be admitted to wayte uppon you, that, by knowing what your H[ighness] would have me doe, I may be sure not err.[1]

The Prince must have found himself, if he thought about the matter at all, in an awkward position. Of course he could not receive Bristol if he still thought badly of him, and yet what success could he promise himself from the trial which had become almost a necessity, and which Bristol himself so openly challenged? If it turned out that the ambassador had been authorised by the King to do all that he had done, then the King's reputation would suffer as much at the bar of public opinion as the Earl's was likely to do. If, again, all that could be said was, that Bristol, though he had taken no step of importance without authority, had yet given bad advice, or had allowed himself to be deceived by the Spanish ministers, that might be a very good reason for recalling him, but it was no reason at all for punishing him.

Some thought, at least, of these possible complications seems to have occurred to the Prince. He sent to advise Bristol to "withdraw himselfe into the countrey for a space;"[2] and it would seem from the following letter, and from others printed further on, that Charles expected Bristol to make some acknowledgment that he was sorry for what he had done,[3] though it is probable that Charles would now have been content to qualify the offence as a mere error of judgment. In this way the object of separating Bristol from the King would be gained, without making James violate his promise that the Earl should have an end of his troubles.

Good Mr. Secretary. I knowe ther is no man living that is a better witnesse

[1] Sherborne MSS.

[2] So writes Nethersole to Carleton, June 7. S. P. Dom. clxvii. 28.

[3] Bristol was not only ready but willing, as appears from his letter to Conway of July 15, to let the subject drop altogether, neither party saying anything more about the matter.

then yourselfe, with how much zeale to the Prince's services and affection to his person I have ever served him, and therefore I intreate you to take some occasions to present unto him the particulars following :—

First I intreate you to reade over the capitulo of a letter I wrote unto the King out of Spayne the last winter, bearing date the 6. of December, and to procure him to peruse it, in which I cast myself at his feete with so much humilitye and with so absolute resignation of my selfe and my affections to his will that I knowe not any thinge that I can add by way of humility and submission. The same I have continewed towards him ever since by my lettres ; and if I knew how to doe more I would willingly doe it.

As for my actions, I take God to recorde I do not knowe that in any thinge I have offended him in all my life, neither can I conjecture at any thing whereby I may have displeased him, if it be not by having expressed to much zeale to that which I understoode to be much desyred both by his Majestye and himselfe. For in his letters unto me ever since his retourne into Englande, he was pleased to assure me that there was no intent of breaking the match.

His Highness hath often promised me and given me his hand uppon it that if I should uppon any occasion fall into troble he would heare me and my cause, and then assist me with his favour. He hath now sent me woord that if I will not follow his advice I must not hereafter looke for his assistance. My humble suite is that in the first place his Highness willbe trewly possessed of my case and afterward according to justice afforde me his assistance, for otherwise he will not know how to mesure or proportion his favour towards me: for if I shall prove a delinquent, the favour which his Highness may do me wilbe in one kind by interceeding for me; but if I prove in noe kinde faultye, but appeare to have bene a man wronged and oppressed, I no way doubt but I shall have his Highness favour for the righting of me and the repayring of myne honor. So that, that which I must most humbly begg of his Highness in the first place is that I may be hearde, and that he will trewly understande my cause, and then he will see in what sorte I am capable of his grace and favour.

I will conclude by desyring you to lett the Prince know that as if I knew how to use greater meanes of humilitye and submission I would do it, so if I may knowe his will and pleasure, he may be most assured I will do nothing that shall not be conformable to them, but will apply my self really and faythfully to serve him in all thinges; and therefore I pray move him for his goodnesse and favour towards me that by the King and himselfe I may be heard, which is so just a suite as I hope shalbe no longer denyed me. And so, desyring you to sende me three or foure words what his Highness is pleased to answere, I commende you to the holy protection of God.[1]

If Charles had ever fancied that he had to deal with a man who

[1] Bristol to Cottington, June 1, Sherborne MSS.

would, for the sake of Royal favour, renounce the defence of his own honour, he now found out his mistake. An inquiry of some kind, with all its accompanying risks, had become inevitable. A letter from Charles to Buckingham, evidently written about this time, depicts the Prince's anxiety. His father, naturally enough, was against any further proceeding, and Buckingham, struck down for the moment by sickness, was as yet unable to assist him. This letter has long been in print,[1] but an extract from it may well be repeated here in its proper connection :—

Now I must crave your pardon to truble you a little: and it is this; Bristo stands upon his justification, and will by no means accept of my conncells; the King does hait to have him cum to his tryall, and I am affeard that if you be not with us to helpe to charge him, and to set the King right, he may escape with too slight a sencure; therfor I would have you send to the King to put of Bristoes tryall untill you might waite on him; but for God's sake doe not venture to cum suner then ye may with the saftie of your health; and with that condition the suner the better.

The course finally settled on is first mentioned in a letter of the 7th of June :—

My Lord of Bristoll hath had a petition presented by his man Grisley to his Majesty that he may come to his triall, which is answeared that out of hand he shall have Commissioners appointed, and such questions proposed to him as shall draw on the triall he so much desireth. But his frends storme, and are impatient, as well as himself, at these delayes, saying it is to great injustice to punish a man with confinement first, and afterwards to seeke for matter against him.[2]

On the same day, June 7, Conway wrote to Bristol, explaining "the cause of the delay in his business and the course it is now put into."[3] The Commissioners appointed to hear his cause were those before whom the question of breaking the treaties with Spain had

[1] Ellis, Orig. Letters, Ser. i. vol. iii. 167. The date can be approximately fixed by the mention of Buckingham's illness.

[2] Dudley Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, June 7. S. P. Dom. clxvii. 26.

[3] Only the minute of this letter has been preserved. Conway's Letter Book, S. P. Dom. p. 126.

been submitted in the preceding winter.[1] From a letter of June 8, written to Conway by Calvert and Weston,[2] it appears that though certain questions had already been drawn up for the examination by Conway himself, they had been directed to prepare new ones. To this task, however, they objected, ostensibly on the ground that they were perfectly satisfied with the questions which had been laid before them by Conway. The excuse however was not allowed, though they were permitted to have Conway's assistance in their labours.[3]

In this interval an episode occurred to which Bristol afterwards bitterly referred. In 1626, he stated:—[4]

That the Earl of Bristol's mother lying sick upon her deathbed desired for her comfort to see her son, and to give him her last blessing; whereupon the Earl wrote to the said Lord Conway, to desire him to move the King for his leave; which he putting off from day to day told the person employed that, by reason of the Duke's sickness, he could not find opportunity to get the Duke's leave to move the King, and having spoken with the Duke, he made a negative answer in the King's name; wherewith the Earl acquainting the King by some of his bedchamber, his Majesty was in a very great anger, swearing the secretary had never moved him, and that to deny the said Earl leave was a barbarous part, and thereupon sent him presently free leave; which the secretary hearing of, sent likewise afterwards a letter of leave, but with divers clauses and limitations, differing from the leave sent him from the King's own mouth.[5]

On the 30th of June Bristol received the twenty interrogatories, which, as well as the answers which he made to them, have long

[1] Nethersole to Carleton, June 7. S. P. Dom. clxvii. 28.

[2] Calvert and Weston to Conway, June 8. S. P. Dom. clxvii. 37.

[3] Conway to Calvert and Weston, June 9. S. P. Dom. clxvii. 38.

[4] State Trials, ii. 1291.

[5] The limiting clause of the letter in question is, "In the meane tyme, because his Majesty knowes not the extreamity of your noble mother's sicknes, nor what comfort may be denied to you both bye restraint of visiting her, his Majesty hath commanded me to signifie his pleasure to you (his Majesty conceiving that your mother lies in London or Westminster, or neare there,) that you visitt your mother with this caution and advice, that in time and manner you use it as privately as conveniently you may." Conway to Bristol, June 24. S. P. Dom. clxviii. 32.

been known from the Hardwicke State Papers. As he had no difficulty in showing that he had taken no step without the King's previous knowledge or subsequent approbation, the result was simply to fix upon James himself the responsibility for all that had been done.

Bristol's answers were sent in on the 10th or 11th of July.[1] The following letter, written a few days later, may serve as an indication of his state of mind at this time[2]:—

I hope his Majesty will be pleased before going the progresse to take some settled course in my businesse, whereunto I shall most willingly submitt my selfe, whatsoever it be, and am most confident of your favour in all thinges that shall singly concerne me, as I am of your justice, and being a trew frend to innocency and cleare through.

I wrote unto you in my last letters to intreate your assistance that this businesse might be passed over, by your reviving and stirring whereof ther wilbe little added to his Majestyes service or any other bodyes content, and therefore I do now most earnestly renew the same sute unto you. I shall no way endeavour to crosse the present courses, nor to stand in the way to displease any; only I labour to appeare an[3] honest man, and not to have bene a disloyall or unworthy servante to so gratious a master, and for this I conceave no man can be offended with me, but that to the contrary I have obligation to do it, though it were with the losse of a thowsand lives.

Bristol afterwards asserted,[4] and the statement is probably correct, that "many of the Commissioners expressed themselves fully satisfied" with his answers. The King too, he says,[5]

"Read them all,[6] and was so well satisfied therewith that he sent me word that he would see me. Whereupon the Duke of Buckingham desired his Majesty that

[1] The 10th is the date of an abstract signed by Bristol himself. (S. P. Dom. clxix. 46.) Mrs. Green dates this, as well as the answers themselves, July 11, having perhaps some evidence that they were sent in on that day.

[2] Bristol to Conway, July 15. S. P. Dom. clxx. 6.

[3] "and," MSS.

[4] Charge against Conway, Art. 6, State Trials, ii. 1291.

[5] State Trials, ii. 1296.

[6] See, however, Bristol's letter to Conway of the 27th at p. xv. where he complains that James had only read the abstract.

I might first answer some four other questions, which being delayed, and I petitioning the King for them to be sent me, his Majesty gave order to have them presently sent. Yet they came not. Divers delays were sought, and at last the Lord Conway wrote me a letter that they were ready, but he thought it better I did accommodate the business."

From the following extract[1] it appears that "the day before the King removed from Theobalds," *i.e.* the 17th of July, Bristol heard that he was to be questioned further :—

The day that the King removed from Theobalds I received by my wife a sadd message from the Court, being debarred that comfort which I hoped to have received before the progress of kissing his Majesties hands, for that I was in hope his Majestie would have received good satisfaction with those aunswers which I sent to the 20^{tie} questions which were propounded unto me; but I understand his Majesties pleasure is that I should be further interrogated, and therefore I am an humble suitor unto you that such farther questions as his Majestie shalbe pleased to have asked of me may be sent unto me, and I shall not faile to make an honest and trew aunswer to them; neyther indeed can I be at quiett untill I have aunswered to all that I thinke cann be objected against me, for God knoweth that my heart hath been and is soe free from any want of fidellity and zeale to my master's service that a bare narration of the truth will serve for a sufficient aunswer.

My wife did likewise bring me his Majesties leave for some months to the setling of my private estate, which through my long absence and the soddaine death of Sir Robert Seymor, whoe did solely manage it, is much embroyled; and I intend, God willing, on Monday next to begin my journey towards the West, but shall not faile to have some one or other alwaies attending uppon you, to the end that I may from tyme to tyme understand his Majesties pleasure, which I shalbe most ready in all things to obey.

Almost immediately after this letter was written Bristol must have received intelligence that the threat of further examination was not to be carried into execution. On the 21st of July Conway sent him permission[2] to go down to his country house at Sherborne, and the letter was either accompanied or immediately followed by a message from the King "to write but a fair letter unto Bucking-

[1] Bristol to Conway, July 25. Sherborne MSS.
[2] Minute. Conway's Letter Book, p. 138. S. P. Dom.

ham for a reconciliation, and that I should leave the rest unto him."[1]

On the 22nd of July Cottington wrote thus:—[2]

Yesterday morning Mr. Secretary Conway told me that, in a lettre which he had written to you, your Lordship had now his Majesties leave to goe to Sherborne with order to returne in September; and with all Mr. Secretary desired me to wryght unto your Lordship, and to tell you from him that he had order from his Majestie to send you other articles replying unto your late answers, which he did deferr, of purpose to doe you a favor, therby giving you tyme to worke and procure some fayre accommodation. Butt in case your Lordship shall desire to have those new articles sent you, he wyll then make hast to doe soe.

On the 24th Conway wrote to much the same purpose;[3] and about the same time, or a little earlier, Buckingham himself made a forward step in the matter, as appears from Bristol's statement in 1626 :—[4]

The Duke hereupon sent one Mr. Clarke unto me, what fair propositions I should make only to retire into the country, and not come to the Court; but permit his Grace to dispose of the Vice-Chamberlain's place. And I shewing Mr. Clerke, by way of private conference, what papers I had to produce against the Duke, his Grace then required a retractation, which I denied, and so all reconcilement broke off.

The view which Bristol took of the proposal that he should come to an accommodation appears from the following letter :—[5]

Good Mr. Secretary Conway. I have receaved your letters of the 24th of July, and had receaved one from Sir Francis Cottington before much to the same effect, written, as I understand, by your order. I give you many thankes for the favor you are pleased to expresse towards me in seeming to desire a faire accommodation in my businesses, which how much I do desire I have lett you know by my severall letters, and still am a suitor unto you for your assistance and furtherance therin. But for the particulars specified in your letter, as on the one side it yll befitteth me to sollicit to have things further urged, so, on the other syde, his Majesties seeming

[1] State Trials, ii. 1296.
[2] Cottington to Bristol, July 22. Sherborne MSS.
[3] Minute. Conway's Letter Book, p. 138.
[4] State Trials, ii. 1296.
[5] Bristol to Conway, July 27. S. P. Dom. clxx. 68.

not to be fully satisfied with my answers, I may no way declyne any course his Majestie wilbe pleased to prescribe for his further satisfaction, for in matter of my fidelitye and loyalty towards his Majestie, the Prince and my country, I hope I shall never see that come into comprimize, but shall rather loose my life and fortunes then admitt the least stayne to remayne upon me or myne in that kynde; and the same I knowe yourself would do, and so will all men of honor; and therfore I pray you, yf his Majestie or the Prince remayne with any the least scruple in that kynde, lett no further examination or sifting of me or myne actions be forborne, for I no way doubt but the innocency of my cause will in the end sufficiently justifie me before God, his Majestie, and the world. But in case his Majestie shall receave full satisfaction by the reading of my answers (which I understand he hath not done as yet, but hath only read the abstract, which is very defective), and I am an earnest suitor unto you to be a meanes that wherin he hath any doubt he may see my answer at large, for it may be that thereby all further questions may be spared yf his Majestie shall rest satisfied therwith that I have not fayled in the duties of an honest, loyall, and faythfull servant, I shall humbly cast my self at his Majesties feet for matter of weakenesse or want of abilitye in his service; and then his Majestie may be pleased to command the stay of any further questions. Otherwise, I beseeche you, lett me have them as soon as you please; neither need the preparing of myne answer be, as I hope, any hinderance to any wayes of accommodation, which in the interim I will industriously seeke, yf they may be hearkened unto; and, for that the world taketh notice that my businesses have been much distracted by somewhat that Mr. Clark should say from my mouth unto my Lord Duke, I will intreate you to call for Mr. Clarke, and lett him make you a narration of that which passed betwixt us; and therby you shall see whether I truly sought his Grace's favor or not. For I protest to God, I could not have spoken with more tendernesse, had I spoken unto my Lord's mother, then I did with Mr. Clarke, nor with a greater earnestnesse and desire to be reconcyled really unto my Lord's favour, and to give all assurances for the future of being my Lord's true and faithfull servant. But, it seemeth, things have been much misunderstood, which I so much desired might have beene rectified, that I was a suitor to have wayted upon my Lord in person, which I shall be glad to do at any time, and he shall finde that I will omitt nothing that he can expect from a gentleman and an honest man to winne his good opinion for the future.

So that I shall conclude that I infinitely and primarily desire an accommodation, and that these businesses may be passed by, so that it may be with the satisfaction of his Majestie that I have not fayled towards him in my honesty nor fidelity. But yf therin his Majesty retayne any doubt, I then declyne no further questioning, but desire that I may have those enlargements you speake of with convenient speed sent unto me, and shall prepare myself for any further tryall his Majestie shalbe pleased to call me unto. But yf you shall retayne the said questions I shall then be in hope his Majestie resteth satisfied in the poynts of my fidelitye and honesty; and, for other errors or omissions, I shall willingly cast myself at his Majesties feet, and it

shall be seene by the effects how desirous I am to conforme myself in all things that may give satisfaction.

It only remayneth that I intreat the continuance of your favor, and that you wilbe pleased to put to your helping hand to assist a gentleman that in former times faithfully endeavored to serve you, and so really still doth; and you shall ever finde him a gratefull man for the favours you shall do him. So with the remembrance of my humble service, I committ you to God, and rest

Your affectionate kinsman and servante,

BRISTOL.

London, the 27th of July 1624.

As nothing[1] came of this appeal, Bristol determined to direct a petition to the King himself, dated August 11, pressing for a further examination :—

Humbly sheweth that upon his arrivall in England he was by a letter from Mr. Secretary Conway, bearing date the 26th of Aprill, commanded in your Majesties name to retyre himself to his howse or lodging and not to come to Court or your Majesties presence untill he should have answered to some questions and objections which should be made unto him by such of your Majesties councell as you should appoynt to that purpose, which Mr. Secretary wrote your Majestie would cause to be done with all expedition.

That after the space of two monthes he receaved twenty questions to which he made his humble and present answer in such sort as he hoped would have beene to your Majesties satisfaction. But since the same restrayut hath beene continued upon him, and it hath beene intimated unto him that your Majestie would have some further questions propounded unto him. And your Majesty was pleased to send him word that they should be sent him before you beganne your progress, but as yet there have not beene any such questions sent him. He most humbly beseeches your Majestie that in case there remayne yet any scruple in your Majestie concerning the fidelity of his service you would be pleased to peruse the answer at length as well as the abstract, wherewith he hopeth your Majestie will rest fully satisfied. If not, he then humbly sueth that your Majestie would command that any such questions as your Majestie shall think fitt further to be propounded unto him may be sent unto him, to the end he may prepare his humble and true answer for your Majestie; for that he holdeth it the greatest misfortune that can befall him in this world to live under the cloud of your Majesties disfavor, or to have the loyalty and fidelity wherewith he hath ever served your Majestie to remayne uncleared. And he shall ever, &c.[2]

[1] Mrs. Green has calendared under July ? a paper of notes in Conway's hand (S. P. Dom. clxx. 69) which is in reality a rough draft of a paper sent Feb. 2, 1625, properly calendared under that date. S. P. Dom. clxxxiii. 13.

[2] Sherborne MSS.

There the matter seems to have slept for a time. In truth Bristol's position was logically unassailable. If he had done anything worthy of punishment, why was his case not to be investigated? If he had not done any thing worthy of punishment, why was he under restraint? Buckingham—for it is hardily possible to speak of James as anything more than a passive tool in his hands—was forced into the position that it was permissible to punish a man against whom he could prove nothing, simply because he refused to acknowledge himself guilty of that of which he believed himself to be innocent. Except, perhaps, on the occasion of Clerke's visit,[1] Bristol had studiously professed his willingness to pay all becoming deference to the Duke in anything which did not involve the sacrifice of his own reputation. That he had any real intention at this time of bringing those charges against Buckingham which proved so effective in 1626 is not to be believed. On the 23rd of September he wrote to Conway saying, after preferring a request to be allowed to take a house at Bristol for the winter:[2]—

I most earnestly desire you to continue your favour towards mee in theis my unfortunate trobles, and especially in usinge your industrie and creditt in pacifying of my Lord Duke, towards whom I shall willingly apply myself with all respect and service without wrongінge my owne innocencie or honor; which if I did not esteeme above all earthly things, I should neither bee worthye of my Lord Duke's favour, nor anie man's els. Herein you shall obliege mee much unto you, and (if I mistake it not) doe his Majestie some service. For I conceave his service will receave litle advantage by stirring or revyvinge of those things which seeme contrarie to the wayes nowe held, only therby the ruine of an ancient faithfull servaunt of his Majestie may bee aymed at, whoe noe way doubteth but hee shall prove himself a right honest man.

To the request to pass the winter at Bristol no answer was for

[1] Clerke's presence must have been particularly irritating to Bristol, he having been the instrument used to put a trick on him after the Prince's departure from Madrid.

[2] Bristol to Conway, September 23. S. P. Dom. clxxii. 50.

some weeks returned. Accordingly, on the 26th of October the Earl announced his intention of going back to London, begging Conway that, as he understood that he "should take something ill at" his "hands," he hoped he would suspend any unkind opinion of him till he had heard his answer, "for an absent and unharmed man is very liable to be wronged."[1] The reply to this letter[2] brought him permission to remove to Bristol, a permission of which he does not seem to have taken advantage. At all events, he was still at Sherborne in the following January, where we again find him, as the two following letters show, asking for what ought have been the natural consequence of this abandonment of all intention to proceed against him criminally, namely, his immediate restoration to liberty:—

May it please your Grace.[3] My dewty to the King and respect to your Grace maketh me addresse my suite unto his Majestie by the way which I thinke will most please him, and therfore I have presumed to send the inclosed letter unto his Majestie into your Grace's handes, together with a coppye of it, that yow may see the contence therof, which I doubt not but your Grace will hold so just and reasonable that, in regard of the place you hold, you would present it to his Majestie though it were from your greatest enimy, much more from one that hath and doth seake your favour by so manye meanes: and so, with the humble remembrance of my service to your Grace, I committ you to God's holy protection.

May it please your Most Excellent Majestie.[4] The knowledge that I have had of your Majesties exact justice, and the assured confidence of your great goodnesse makes me presume still to be a most humble suitor unto your Majestie that I may enjoye the benefitt of your gratious promise which you have beene pleased so often out of your goodnesse to make unto me, vizt. that I should never be condemned by you, nor sink in your favor and good opinion, untill you should first personally have heard me. God in heaven knoweth with how much zeale and affection I have poursued those things which I understood to conduce to your Majesties ends; and if

[1] Bristol to Conway, Oct. 26. S. P. Dom. clxxiii. 98.
[2] Minute of Conway's letter, Nov. 4. Conway's Letter-Book, p. 164. S. P. Dom.
[3] Bristol to Buckingham, Jan. 13, 1625. Sherborne MSS.
[4] Bristol to James I., Jan. 13, 1625. S. P. Dom. clxxxi. 54.

I have in any thing beene unfaithfull unto you, I desire not to live. I only crave after twenty years service to have a gratious hearing by you in your owne due time and season. And that, in the interim (since your Majestie hath not beene pleased to admit me in the nature of a delinquent,) I may live with the comfort to knowe that your Majestie doth suspend your displeasure and any yll opinion of me, untill you shall have heard me, and that it may be lawfull for me freely, without giving offence, to followe and sollicitt myne owne occasions; myne owne private estate being so much ymbroyled by my long absence and the death of those that mannaged it for me, that yf I be debarred the personall attending of it, I am like to be much endangered in my private fortunes. But I submitt all to your Majesties good pleasure; and continually praying for your Majesties happinesse and prosperitye, cast myself at your Majesties feet, and remayne

Your Majesties most humble and most faythfull subject and servant
BRISTOL.

Sherborne, the 13th of January, 1624.

Of Buckingham's reply, written on the 2nd of February, only the following note has been preserved:—

In answer wherof the Duke in his letter of the 2d of Feb. writeth thus:—That hee delivered his lordship's letter to the Kinge, who was gratiously pleased to give him liberty to repayre to London for the ordering of his owne private businesses.[1]

The paper[2] inclosed, which contains the Duke's demands, is however of greater importance than the letter itself can possibly have been:—

A paper sent in a letter bearing date the 2. of Feb. 1626, from the Duke of Buckingham unto the Earl of Bristol, conteyning certeine propositions, the which the Duke requireth that the sayde Earl would acknowledge.

I protest that what I delivered in the Parliament touching the passages of the Spanish businesse was without any malicious intent against the Earl of Bristol, but only to performe in the best and playnest manner I could, according to the truth, his Majesties command to give satisfaction to his subjects. Since which tyme, if I have urged that which I then delivered, and other thinges which I knew to bee trew, but spared them at that tyme, it was uppon the Earl's owne provocation by framing accusations against mee, which hee cannot blame mee, if for myne owne justification I retorted them uppon himselfe.

[1] S. P. Dom. Charles I. xviii. 34, i.
[2] S. P. Dom. clxxxiii. 13.

But now the great desire the Earl of Bristol hath expresse[d] to bee reconciled to mee, and his profession that hee will omitt nothing in his power that may conduce unto it, shall bee mett with all the humanitie that can be expected on my part, admitting a more right construction of the condition and state of the questions. For it is an assertion not graunted, that the Earl of Bristol by his answers hath satisfied eyther the King, the Prince, or mee of his innocency. Neyther is it my duty, nor, though it were, lyeth it in my power to endeavour the Earles reconciliation with the King and Prince, and to procure his admittance to kisse their handes, untill hee shall have freely and ingeniously confessed these undeniable thinges.[1]

* * * * *

Which errors in judgment and confidence as the Earl doth ingeniously confesse them, so doth hee protest they came not from malice nor want of fayth, but from an earnest and misledd zeale to endeavor by all meanes his masters ends (as he conceived) and therfor prayes his Majesties and the Prince of their grace to passe by and pardon them.

This beeing donne (without which I cannot presse his Majestie nor his Highness), to prove I have no personall mislike of the Earl of Bristoll, I will imploy my force and power with the King and the Prince to admitt the Earl in due tyme to kisse their handes, and to receive him to their gratious favour.

There is here a distinct withdrawal of any charge except that of being guilty of an error in judgment, and therefore, it may safely be concluded, a no less distinct acknowledgment that no charge could be maintained against him to which any court would be likely to listen. But in spite of this the restraynt which ought only to be inflicted either as a punishment for proved crime, or as a precaution preliminary to investigation, was to be continued until Bristol would give a certificate to the Duke of the correctness of charges which had been abandoned.

How Bristol answered the demand, the following letter[2] shows :—

May it please your Grace, I have receaved your letter of the 2nd of February, by my cosen Sir Kenelam Digbye, and am much rejoyced to see in your Grace so forward an inclination to doe me favour uppon the acknowledgment of supposed errours. For that I am so confident of your noblenesse that you wilbe much more encouraged

[1] The five propositions are omitted here, as being inserted in the text of No. II.

[2] Bristol to Buckingham, February 8, 1625. Sherborne MSS.

to imploye your power for me towards his Majesty and the Prince, if you shall see them apparently cleared. And I understand the paper of propositions which your Grace hath bene pleased to send me not as faults injoyned me to acknowledge—for I am confident no such course can be thought of,—but as particulars wherein your Grace yet resteth unsatisfyed. And therefore I shall speedily endeavour your Grace's satisfaction, which yf [it] shall not goe beyond all reply, I will most readily make acknowledgment of any errour, and most humbly begge his Majestye and the Prince pardon; as in the mean tyme I do on my knees for any errour or omission I may have committed in their service, either through wante of abilitye, or for wante of a right understanding of their pleasure.

I do most humbly beseech your Grace to poursue this woorke which you have begunn, to which on my parte I shall contribute all that shall be possible, and shall receave from your Grace this new obligation with so much thankfulnesse that I hope your Lordship for the future shall not have cause to repente the favour you shall do me.

It only remaineth that I give your Grace humble thankes for your favour in procuring me liberty to attend mayne owne affayres, for that in trewth no man's private estate in England at present more requireth it, yet I shall make use of it with that respect unto his Highness and your Grace that, if my forbearing to repayre to London be more aggreable to you, I shall much rather undergoe any inconveniency in my particular then to do any thing that in the least manner might be displeasing unto you. So with my humble service unto your Lordship I commit you to the holy protection of God.

Of a later letter written by the Duke on the 16th we have only the following paragraph :—.

I have likewise acquainted his Highness with the respect you show towards him about your comming to London, which hee taketh very well; and, for the regard you bear unto me in the same point, I give your Lordship many thankes: but wish you not to neglect your own occasions uppon that consideration, but to make use of the libertye which his Majestie hath gratiouslye pleased to graunt you.[1]

To this Bristol replied :—

May it please your Grace,[2] I have received your Grace's letter of the 16th of Feb., and am putting myself in a readines to repaire to London, where I am in hope your Grace will not denye mee leave to attend you, which I muché desire to doe; for that I doubt not but in all things to give your Grace much satisfaction.

My stay in London I intend for a verye short tyme, and being unprovided of any

[1] S. P. Dom. Charles I. xviii. 34, i.

[2] Bristol to Buckingham, Feb. 27, 1625. Harl. MSS. 1580, fol. 146

lodging there, and the taking of a howse for a few daies being verye hard and inconvenient, I presume to move your Grace to know whether I may not without offence goe to my lodging at Whitehall,[1] whereto I am the more encouraged for that the last sommer his Majestie would not admitt me in nature of a delinquent (as he was then gratiously pleased to say) untill I had appearcd soe; and I hope his Majestie wilbe pleased to have the like gratiouse consideration in this particular, which I am the more confident of through your Grace's favour, which I earnestly intreate your Grace to believe that I will really and honestly endeavour to regaine by all the meanes a gentleman may. And soe, with the remembrance of my humble service unto your Grace, I remain

Your Grace's most humble servante,
BRISTOL.

Sherborne, the 27th of Feb. 1624.

After some further correspondence, now lost, in which the Duke continued to insist upon a distinct acknowledgment of error, Bristol sent instead the detailed answer to the propositions to which he had been asked to subscribe, which is now printed in the text as No. II.[3] It was accompanied by the two following letters, one addressed to Sir Kenelm Digby,[3] who had been acting as intermediary in the affair, the other[4] to Buckingham himself:—

Good Cosen, I give you thankes for your paynes in my businesse, in which whatsoever the success shallbee, my obligation to you shallbee the same.

I was in hope by your letter that ther had bene expected from mee an answer only to those points which were brought mee by you from my Lord Duke; but it seemes by a letter I have receaved from his Grace, as likewise by a message sent mee since from him by Mr. Gresley, that nothing will serve the turne but that I

[1] On the 26th of February Chamberlain writes (S. P. Dom. clxxxiv. 47):—The Earle of Bristow comes to towne this night, having taken Sir Thomas Watson's lodgings, though the common voyce had assigned him another lodging: but yt is saide now the King will have him shortly reconciled to the Prince and Duke of Buckingham, without any repetition of former matters. On the 22nd of March (S. P. Dom. clxxxiii. 91) Chamberlain again writes:—The Earl of Bristow hath not yet resigned (i.e. his Vice-Chamberlainship), nor is not to come to towne—whatsoever I heard or wrote—till he be sent for, or till the next term at soonest.

[2] S. P. Dom. clxxxv. 59. ii.

[3] Bristol to Sir K. Digby, March 16, 1625. S. P. Dom. clxxxv. 59.

[4] Bristol to Buckingham, March 16, 1625. S. P. Dom. clxxxv. 59 i.

make the acknowledgment that is required by subscribing the paper that was sent mee. And so likewise the libertye which I besought of his Majestie to follow freely myne owne affayres (for that was my request, and not to come to London), which I understoode had bene graunted mee by his Majestye, my Lord Duke now sendeth mee word that if I come to London I must understand myselfe to be a restrained man, untill I have made such an acknowledgment as is required. My present requst I hope shallbee but modest, which is only that I may know cleerly what his Majesties pleasure is, to the end I may not fall into errour, and I shall most willingly and readily obey it whatsoever it shallbee, no way doubting but his Majestie in his owne dew tyme will afford mee a gratious and an equall hearing. In the interim I have sent you my answer to the propositions, which I intreat you to present unto his Majestie and to his Grace, if they may bee accepted, as I can no way doubt but they will, for I conceave it will seeme to hard and to unjust a course under his Majesties gratious goverment to have it injoyned to a gentleman to acknowledg faults hee is no way guilty of.

I shall intreat you further, as you have allready taken much paynes in this businesse, that you will deliver this message from mee to the Duke, that as I have (since I applyed myself to bee reconciled unto his Grace's favour) omitted nothing that mighte expresse my respect unto him, so I doe really still poursue the desire of regayning his good opinion and friendshipp, and, if I shalbee so happy as to obtayne it, I will honestly endeavour by my best services to deserve the continewance of it, and therefore I entreat his Grace not to insist or presse mee to those thinges which would make mee for the future incapable of his Majesties favour and unworthy of his friendshipp; but that if hee intende in any kinde to favour mee, that hee would doe it in a noble manner, whereby I may bee obliged trewly and hartely to love and serve him, for otherwise I shall in respect of myne honor and defence of myne innosencye undervalew any earthly regards whatsoever, and trust to God's protection, his Majesties justice, and the goodnesse of my cause; and so, desiring to heare from you with all convenient speed, I recommend you to God, and rest

Your affectionate Cosen to doe you service,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne, the 16th of March, 1624.

May it please your Grace, Hopinge that your noblenes and equitye wilbe such as a trew and cleare answere wilbe more acceptable to your Grace then an unjust acknowledgment, I have entreated Sir Kenelham Digby to deliver unto your Grace my answers unto the propositions which he brought unto me from you; and humbly beseech your Grace to cast your eyes over them, and if there shalbee any thing wherein your Grace shall rest unsatisfied, I intreat your Grace to give me leave to attend yow; wher I shall endeavour not onely to satisfie yow in these particulars, but that I truely and unfainedly seeke your Grace's favour, to which if I may uppon faire and noble termes be admitted, your Grace shall finde me for the future a faithfull and reall servaunt to you to the utmost of my power: but if I must be

soe unhappy as these my humble seekings of your Grace may not finde acceptance (although I conceive my ruyne an easie worke for youre greatnes,) I shall with patience and humility endeavor to beare whatsoever God shalbe pleased to lay uppon me as punishments for other sinns committed against Him, but not against my master, whome I take God to record I have served both with exact fidelitye and affection. And soe, recommending your Grace to His holy protection, I rest

Your Graces most humble servante,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne, this 16th of March, 1624.

What followed may be given in Bristol's own words :[1]—

Upon this I petitioned the late King that I might be at liberty to follow my affairs freely, to which his Majesty condescended unto, and signified his pleasure by the Duke that he was satisfied, and therefore I had my freedom. But when I had an intent to come to my lodging at Whitehall, and made the Duke acquainted therewith, he seemed much displeased thereat, and moved his Majesty that I might firste make an acknowledgment of my fault, which his Majesty refused to compel me unto ; saying he might then be thought a tyrant to force a man to acknowledge that which he was not guilty of; and his Majesty sent me word that I should make no acknowledgment unless I would freely confess myself guilty. Yet the Duke caused a message to be sent me that his Majesty expected that I should make the said acknowledgment, and confess myself guilty. And thus it stood with me when the late King, my blessed master, sickened and died.

It would have been well for Charles if his father's last wishes had not been overruled by Buckingham. No doubt, in the main point, Charles and Buckingham were right, and Bristol was wrong. It was quite true that the Spaniards had not intended, if they could help it, to marry the Infanta to a Protestant Prince, or to restore the Palatinate to a Protestant Elector. But when the new King and his favourite, instead of contenting themselves with insisting on the correctness of their views, refused to be satisfied with anything short of an acknowledgment that Bristol had allowed his mistake to influence his conduct, they were meeting him upon a ground upon which he was sure to get the better of them. The five answers

[1] State Trials, ii. 1297.

handed in in March had effectually disposed of Buckingham's attack, and had shown that Bristol had been authorised by the late King in every step he took, and that unless Charles was prepared to say that it was a punishable crime for an ambassador to utter his opinion freely, if that opinion happened to be wrong, he had better carry out his father's wishes by allowing Bristol to recover his liberty entirely.

Immediately upon James's death Bristol wrote to Charles and his favourite,[1] begging for permission to cast himself at his Majesty's feet. Charles seemed ready to meet his advances half-way.

Bristol afterwards declared that[2]:—

When his Majesty that now is came to the Crown, he was pleased to send me a gracious message upon the occasion of a great sickness I had, and my writ of Parliament was freely sent me; but, out of respect, I desired to know what would best please the King, my coming, or my stay from the Parliament. And the Duke of Buckingham did write unto me that his Majesty took that respect very well at my hands, but would have me excuse my coming, for which I craved a letter of licence from the Parliament. Instead whereof I recieved from the Lord Conway a letter of prohibition and restraint and confinement, under the King's own hand, whereas before I was restrained only by the Lord Conway.

Buckingham's letter here referred to was written on the 2nd of May, and concluded thus[3]:—

I have acquainted his Majestie with your respect towards him touching your summons to the Parliament, which hee taketh very well, and would rather have you make some excuse for your absence (notwithstanding your writt) then to come yourselfe in person.

Upon this Bristol made fresh overtures through Sir Kenelm Digby, the result of which appears from the following letter[4]:—

May it please your Lordship. Assoone as I came to the towne I went to my Lord

[1] Bristol to Charles I. Bristol to Buckingham. Undated Sherborne MSS.
[2] State Trials, ii. 1297.
[3] S. P. Dom. Charles I. xviii. 34, i.
[4] Bristol to Sir K. Digby, May 27, 1625. Add. MSS. 9806, fol. 1.

Chamberlaine,[1] and saide unto him what your Lordship bade me. He expressed much feeling of your Lordship's sicknes, and made a seriouse profession of his faith and frendshipp to your Lordship, and that, yf God should please to call yow, he would continew it to your sonne. The next morning (to day) he brought me to the King, whoe gave me a gratiouse and full audience, and I delivered to his Majestie the message that yow gave me as effectually as I could, to draw from him some testimony of his affection towards your Lordship. And truely, my Lord, he did receive the newes of your ill state with much tendernes and asked me many particulars how yow were, and bade me hasten to lett your Lordship know he was very sorry for your sickness; and protested in the deepest manner that might be that he hadd no personall displeasure or grudge,—these were his words,—against yonr Lordship; but that he held yow to be an honest and sufficient man, and one that loved him, and had endeavoured his service really, and should be gladd of any good that arrived to yow. And in the other point concerninge your buisenes, he would not have your Lordship conceive that he thinketh yow to be a delinquent, and to have offended in any matter of honesty, or not performance of what was commaunded yow: for, if that had beene, then this course that hath been should not have been used with yow, but yow should have been committed to the Tower, and brought to a publique tryall;—but the true cause why your Lordship is thus in suspense and removed from the Court is because your Lordship in the treaty of the Spanish match (he thinketh) was so desireous of it and soe passionate for it (as he confesseth himself was also, after he hadd seene the lady) that yow trusted more to the Spanish ministers and theire promises then was fitting in discretion; and, although your Lordship, on the other side, carried it soe judiciously that yow can be taxed for nothing in publique court, but can justifie yourself, and make the Spaniard appeare to be dishonest, and soe free yourself, yet between him and yow he doubteth not but your Lordship will acknowledg yow were too forward and confident in it, which if your Lordship doe lyve and doe make acknowledgment of unto him, yow shall then, without more adoe, kiss his hands and lyve in peace and with honor; and, in the meane tyme he would have your Lordship beleeve he hath a good opinion of yow, and loveth yow, and will be glad to heare of your recoverye. Then, of himself, he sayde that peradventure your Lordship might suspect that your freeness with him might prejudice yow; for, he sayde, yow had been as free with him as ever any man had been, but he protested uppon his death and salvation that he never communicated to any body any thing that your Lordship ever spoke to him in that way of freeness and privacye. And, for what concerned himself, he was soe farr from taking it in evill part, that, were it for nothing els, he were obliged to love yow for your honesty, and he ever dealed plainly and truely with your Lordship. Therefore, whatsoever be at any tyme saide unto yow, yow may be confident was from his heart, and he approoved of all yow ever saide to him, but onely once, which he never had told to any one but to me then, and yow would remember it by these tokens. Your Lordship shewed him a

[1] The Earl of Pembroke.

little before his goeing out of Spayne a letter, wherein yow writt of the Duke of Buckingham, which he misliked, and told your Lordship yow expressed much spleen against the Duke, and therefore would have yow alter it. The letter yow sent away, without first shewing it unto him; but when he returned to England he saw it, and found yow had altered it much after the manner that he badd yow. His Majestie alsoe told me that, though yow much desired the match, yet he thinketh yow did not labour soe effectually as yow might have done to effect what he soe extreamely desired, which was to have the Infanta then along with him; and whilest the Duke and Conde de Olivares were good frends, and that yow were fallen out with the Conde (which he sayd was indeed for being an honest man to him) yow were very cold in solliciting that particular; but that, assoone as the Conde and Duke were fallen out (which was not personall betwixt them, but cawsed by the buiseness, and for his Majesties service) your Lordship was instantly frends with the Conde, without recapitulating any buiseness of the quarrell, or receiving satisfaction for the wrong he had done yow; wherein, his Majestie sayth, he discovered much yll will in yow to the Duke, and an aptness in yow to be over confident in the Spaniards, when theire promises concurred with your desires.

The sum and conclusion of his Majesties discourse was that, personally, he hath a very good affection to your Lordship, and the error which he conceiveth to be committed by yow is such that the least acknowledgment shall expiate it, and then yow shall have his favour againe as before. I hope this relation will bring much content unto your Lordship, espetially I telling yow that the King seemed to me to speake it very affectionately, and much resenting[1] your sickness, which I pray God soone to free yow of, that yow may in due tyme take notice to his Majestie of what I write to your Lordship as yow shall thinke fitt. And soe, with remembraunce of my humble service to your Lordship, I rest

Your Lordship's most faithfull servaunt,

KENELHME DIGBY.

London, 27th May, 1625.

Charles had thus reduced his demands to the simplest form. Bristol was to give a private acknowledgment that he had been mistaken. But this was precisely what, as a truthful man, he could not do, as long as he was unconvinced that he had been mistaken. We have not before us Bristol's reply to his cousin's letter, but there can be no doubt that it was in the negative, and that it was this which caused Charles to take the unwise step of once more inforcing Bristol's confinement.

[1] *i.e.* feeling for.

The following letter,[1] which appears in Bristol's narrative as a thunderbolt in a clear sky, may thus be satisfactorily accounted for :—

Right trustye and well beeloved Cousin, wee greete you well. Wheras our late deare Father of most glorious memory did for some causes restraine you to your house, and that wee have not as yett had tyme to take notice therof, or give order for disposing of you otherwayes; our pleasure is that you remayne under the same restraint and confinement as you were ordered to by our late deare Father, untill wee shall give further direction. And wee doe by these our letters excuse your not comming to our Parliament, and will that you forbeare to come thither—our writt of summons, or anything therein contayned to the contrary nottwithstanding—and these our letters shallbee your sufficient warrant and dischardge in this behalfe.

The letter was characteristic of Charles. It was just like him to be stung by a refusal to make an acknowledgment of error to himself, and just like him to give as a reason for the fresh infliction, that he had "not as yett had time to take notice of" Bristol's fault, though he knew perfectly well that Bristol had no intention of coming up to the Parliament, and that he could therefore have as much time to consider the matter as he pleased.

The next letter[2] which we have from Bristol refers merely to the former and more polite request to refrain from coming up to London :—

May it please your Grace. Having received soe positive an answer from your Grace by your letters of the 2d of May, it may seeme unmannerlines in me further to importune yow, but that I am contented to incurr that censure, rather then not to doe the utmost that is in my power to lett your Grace and the world see with how much earnestnesse and respect I have and doe seeke your Grace's favour, the which if I may be soe happeie as to obtaine, I will not faile for the future to make good those professions of thankfulnesse and service I have made unto your Grace. And soe hoping that your Grace will at last afford him favour whoe ommitteth noe meanes of seeking it, I recommend your Grace to God's holy protectione, and rest

Your Grace's most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne, the 17th of Julye, 1625.

[1] Charles I. to Bristol, June 10, 1625. S. P. Dom. Charles I. xviii. 34, i.

[2] Bristol to Buckingham, July 17, 1625. S. P. Dom. iv. 69.

Months passed on, and there were no signs that Charles intended to find time to consider Bristol's case. In January 1626, when the Coronation was approaching, the Earl made another move. He "wrote a humble letter to his Majesty and the Duke,"[1] accompanied by one to Conway, which, with its inclosed extracts, has alone been preserved.[2]

My very good Lord, I am loathe to be a trouble to your Lordship with my unfortunate businesse; yet, in regard that all restraintes that were laid uppon me in his late Majesties tyme of happie memorie were onlie under your Lordship's hand, and that by a letter which Sir William Beecher sent unto me[3] the last summer bearing date the tenth day of June, signed by his Majestie, wherby I was commanded not to come to the Parliament, and likewise charged to remayne under the same restraints as I was in the time of the King his father, to no other end but that I may not fall into errour or blame, the same restrainte having beene enjoined me at severall tymes, and by severall letters, I have appointed this bearer to attend you with true coppies of them all, and with a note how I understande them; and shall receave it as an especiall favour from your Lordship clearelie to understand in what condition I stand in pointe of my said restrainte. For beeing resolved not in anie one tittle to transgresse or swerve from his Majesties royall pleasure, I should be sorrie to committ anie errour through mistaking, and therefore am bold to crave this curtesie at your Lordship's hands. I have presumed against this happye tyme of his Majesties Coronation to bee an humble suitor unto his Majestie for his favour. The coppie of the letter I have written this bearer will shew unto your Lordship, and I shall therein crave your helpe and assistance, and shall labour to deserve it by the best services I shall bee able to do your Lordship, to whome I wish much happines, and remayne your Lordship's affectionate servante and kinsman.

Sherborne, the 12th of Jenuary 1625.

In point of fact Charles had made a blunder. When in his letter of June 10 he ordered Bristol to remain "under the same restraint and confinement as you were ordered by our late deare Father," he had forgotten that James had, before his death, permitted the Earl to come to London if he pleased. Either, therefore, the King must himself impose a new restraint without being

[1] State Trials, ii. 1297.

[2] S. P. Dom. xviii. 34.

[3] The King's letter of June 10, at p. xxviii., was sent to Beecher by Conway on the 11th. See Conway's Minute Book, p. 218.

able to allege a shadow of reason for it, or he would have to see Bristol amongst the peers in the Parliament which could not long be delayed, a prospect which was all the more annoying, as he seems to have fancied that Bristol had some hand in instigating the opposition to the vote of supplies for the expedition to Cadiz in the preceding year.[1]

Charles at once flashed into anger. The next letter[2] put an end to all prospect of reconciliation :—

Wee have recyved your letter addrest to us by Buckingham, and we cannot but wonder that you should, through forgettfulnes, make such a request to us of favour, as if you stood evenly capable of it, when you knowe what your behaviour in Spaine deserved of us ; which you are to examine by the observations wee made, and knowe you will remember how at our first coming into Spaine, taking upon you to bee soe wise as to foresee our intentions to chaunge our religion, you were soe farre from diswading us that you offered your service and secrecy to concurre in it, and in many other open conferences, pressing to shew how convenient it was for us to bee a Romaine Catholick, it being impossible, in your opinion, to doe any greate action otherwise. How much wrong, disadvantage and disservice you did to the treaty, and to the right and interest of our deare brother and sister, and theire children ; what disadvantage, inconvenience, and hazard you intangled us in by your artifices, puttings off, and delaying our returne home ; the great estimation you made of that State, and the vile price you sett this kingdome at, still mainteyning that wee under colour of freindshipp to Spaine, did what was in our power against them, which (you said) they knew very well ; and last of all, your approving of those conditions that our nephew should bee brought up in the Emperour's Court, to which Sir Walter Aston then said, he durst not give his consent for feare of his head, you replying to him that without some such greate action neither marriage nor peace could bee had. Given at our Pallace at Westminster the 20th of January in the first year of our raigne.

As might be expected, we find Bristol in his next letter treating these charges, which he believed himself to be perfectly well able to answer, to be tantamount to a declaration of the King's intention to bring him to trial. To Conway he writes[3] :—

[1] See Bristol's next letter, p. xxxi.

[2] Charles I. to Bristol, January 20, 1626. S. P. Dom. xviii. 106.

[3] Bristol to Conway, February 6, 1626. Harl. MSS. 1580, fol. 143.

Good Cosen. This bearer, W. Gresly, wilbe able to tell yow all that I can say of the estate of my unfortunate bussinesse, wherin having done all that I can thinke of by way of humiliation,[1] I must now attend with patience God's will and his Majestyes: for on my part I can do no more, only defende my innocency the best I shalbe able, when I shalbe called to any tryall, which I confesse, if my humble seekings and submissions may not take place, I should be gladd were as speedye and as publicke as might be; but, Cosen, I shall continew them, and so shall my wife at her coming upp. And I intreate yow to doe the like with my Lord Duke uppon all occasions yow can lay hold of. There is further on[2] particular wherin I shall intreate your kindnesse. I heare my Lord Duke should be informed that I should plott and combyne with some parlament men that seemed adverse to his Grace at Oxford, and that theruppon should of late be much incensed agaynst me. Herein, Cosen, I shall intreate yow to give his Grace satisfaction on my behalfe, which yow may do as trewly as ever was in any businesse, for I take God to recorde I never would have to do since I came into Englande with anything belonging to Parlament, nor never attempted anything to the Duke's prejudice. The particular W. Gresley will tell yow by woord of mouth, being to long for a letter; but I intreate yow to deale very effectually, for although my Lord Duke should ruyne me to-morrow, yet for trewth sake I should be gladd he were satisfyed herein. And so, not having wherwith further to troble yow for the present, I remember my love and service to yow, and remayne

Your most affectionate Cosen to serve you,

BRISTOL.

6th of Feb. 1625.

Conway's reply of the 25th has not been preserved. But it may be gathered from Bristol's answer that the King still hoped to draw from him, in a roundabout way, some acknowledgment of having been at fault. The rest of the correspondence speaks for itself, and may be given without further comment:—

My Lord,[3]—I have received your letter of the 25th of Feb. and therin a commandment in his Majesties name to make a cleere and plaine answere, whether I desire to rest in the securitye I am now in, and to acknowledge the gratious favour of his late Majestie and of his which now is, who have bene pleased not to question my actions, &c. Hereunto I have laboured exactly to obey, but finde that a playne and cleere answere cannot possibly be made untill there bee a cleere understanding of the thing propounded; so that I must crave pardon if my answeare be not as cleare as I could wish it, for I must freely acknowledge that I in no way understand what

[1] "humiation," MS.

[2] *i.e.* "one."

[3] Bristol to Conway, March 4, 1626. Harl. MSS. 1580, fol. 148.

is meant by the security I am now in, whether it be the present estate I am in or not. Yf it be soe, I conceave a man cannot be under a harder condition. For your Lordshipp knoweth that, by order, my person is restrained, and you were pleased lately to send me word that you would not advise me to make use of the liberty which his late Majestie had given me of comming to London, allthough it were only to follow my private affaires, and for the recovery of my decayed health. I stand likewise prohibited to come to the Court or to the King's presence (I passe by the being removed from all my places and offices, and whollie depending upon his Majesties Royall pleasure), but being a Peere of this realme I have not only by commandment bin formerly staid from the Parliament, but of late by writt have bene deteyned as though my honour were forfeited. And this is truely the condition which I am now in; but I cannot imagine that this is the securitie is intended I should rest in, but am in hope that the securitie intended is, that I may for the future injoy the libertie of a free subject, and the priviledges of a Peere of the Kingdome, which being soe, I shall with all humility acknowledge his Majesties grace and favour, and be ready to serve him with all fidelitie, even to the laying downe of my life, not thincking it to stand with the duty of a subject to presse his being questioned, since such being the pleasure of his soveraigne yt were not in the power of any subject to avoid it. But in case his Majestie shalbe pleased to bring me to any legall tryall, I shall most willingly and dutyfully submitt myselfe thereunto, and doubt not but my innocency in the end willbe my best mediator for his Majesties future favour. And in that case I am a suitor that my writt of Parliament as a Peere of the Realme may be sent unto me, and that my present repaire unto London may not displease his Majestie.

And as for the pardon of the 21th *Regis Jacobi*, which you mention I should renounce, I know that the justest and most cautious man living may through omission or ignorance offend the lawes, so that, as a subject, I shall not disclaime any benefitt which commeth in the generall, as it doth usually to all other subjects of the kingdome. But as for any crime in particular that may trench upon my imployments in pointe of loyaltie, fidelitie, or want of affection to the King or State, I know my innocency to be such that I am confident I shall not neede that pardon.

I shall conclude with a most humble suite unto your Lordshipp that out of your noblenesse, and that friendshipp that hath bene betwixt us, you will use your best indeavours both with his Majestie and the Duke that these unfortunate businesses may be passed over, by the renewing whereof I can see little use that can be made but the adding to a man's misfortunes allready sufficiently humbled; for I am ready to doe all that a man of honour and honestie may doe; but rather then to doe any thing that may be prejudiciall to me in that kind, to suffer whatsoever it shall please God to send, and so, with the remembrance of my humble service unto your Lordshipp, I recommend you to God's holy protection, and rest,

Your Lordshipp's most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne Lodge, the 4th of March, 1625.

My Lord.[1] I receaved a letter from your Lordship, dated the 4th of this moneth, written in answere to a former which I directed to your Lordship by his Majesties commandment. This last lettre, according to my duty, I have shewed unto his Majestie, whoe hath perused it, and hath commaunded me to write back unto you again, that he findes himself nothing satisfyed therewith. The question propounded to your Lordship from his Majestie was plaine and cleere:—Whether you did rather chuse to sitt still without beeing questioned for any errors passed in your negotiation in Spaine, and enjoye the benefite of the late gratious pardon graunted in Parliament, whereof you may have the benefites; or whether, for the cleering of your innocency (whereof yourself and your freinds and followers are soe confident) you will bee contented to wave the advantage of that pardon, and putt yourself in a legal way of examination for the tryal thereof? His Majesties purpose is not to prevent you of any favours the lawe hath given you; but, if your assurance be such as your words and letter import, he conceaveth it stands not with that publique and resolute profession of your integrity to decline your trial. His Majesty leaves the choice to yourself, and requires from you a direct answere without circumlocution or bargaining with him for future favors beforehand; but if you have a desire to make use of that pardon which cannot be denyed to you, nor is any way desired to bee taken from you, his Majestie expects you should, at the least, forbeare to magnifie your service, and out of an opinion of your owne innocency cast an aspersion upon his Majesties justice, in not affording you that present fullness of liberty and favour which cannot be drawn from him but in his owne good time and according to his good pleasure.

That much I have in commandment to write to your Lordship, and to require your answer clearly and plainly by this messenger sent on purpose for it, [and so remain

Your Lordship's humble servant,

EDW. CONWAY.][2]

Whitehall, 24th March, 1625.

My Lord.[3] I have receaved your letter of the 24th of March, on the 28th; and I am infinitely greived to understand that my former answeare to yours of the 4th of March hath not satisfied his Majestie, which I will endeavour to do by this, to the best of my understanding; and to that end shall answeare to the particular pointes of your present letter with the greatest cleerenesse I am able.

First, whereas you say in your letter that the question propounded to me was

[1] Conway to Bristol, March 21, 1626. S. P. Dom. xxiii. 46. Printed in Rushworth, i. 234.

[2] The words in brackets are from Rushworth, the remainder is a copy in the handwriting of Conway's secretary.

[3] Bristol to Conway, March 30. S. P. Dom. xxiii. 102. Printed in Rushworth, i. 234.

plaine and cleere, vizt.:—Whether I would rather choose *to sitt still* without being questioned for any errours past in my negociation in Spayne, or enjoy the benefitt of the late gratious pardon, whereof I may take the benefitt, or whether, being contented to wave the advantage of that pardon, I would put myselfe into a legall way of examination for the triall thereof et[a]?

1°. Your Lordship may be pleased to remember that your last proposition was:—Whether I desired to rest in the *securitye I was in*, which you now expresse:—*Whether I will choose to sitt still* et[a].

2[lie]. Your proposition was whether I would acknowledge the gratious favour of his late Majestie and his Majestie that now is, whoe had bin pleased not to question my actions, when it is best knowne unto your Lordship that by a commission of the Lords I was questioned upon 20[ie] articles, divers involving felonye and treason, allthough it be true that, when I had soe answeared as I am most confident their Lordships would have cleered me, I was soe unhappie as theire Lordshipps never mett more about the businesse.

But now your proposition is:—Whether I will choose to sitt still without being further questioned for errors past, whereas before it was required I should acknowledge that I had not bin questioned at all, which is a very different thing. But conferring both your Lordship's letters together, and gathering the sence and meaning by making the latter an explication of the former, which I could have wished your Lordship would have more cleerely explayned, I returne unto your Lordship this plaine and direct answeare:—

That understanding by the *securitie I am in*, and *sitting still*, and not being *further questioned*, that I am restored and lefte to the bare freedome and libertie of a subject and peere (for a man being called into question by his Majestie, yf afterwards his Majestie shall be pleased out of his goodnesse that he rest quiett and secure, and that he shall not be further questioned, I conceave it is most apparent that his libertie naturally revolveth to him when by his Majesties grace he is pleased to declare he shall not be further questioned, but may live in securitie,) soe that understanding your Lordship's letter in this sorte, (for noe direct answeare can be made untill the sence of the question be truly stated,) I doe most humbly acknowledge and accept his Majesties grace and favour, and shall not wave any benefitt that may come unto me by the pardon of the 21 Ja. nor of the pardon of his Majesties happie coronation; and I am soe farre from bargaining (as you are pleased to expresse it) for future favour (though I hope my humble and submissive course of petitioning of his Majestie neither hath nor shall deserve soe hard an expression), that I shall not presume soe much as to presse his Majestie for any special favour, untill my dutifull and loyall behaviour may moove his royall and gratious harte thereunto; but receave with all humblenesse this my freedome and libertie, the which I shall likewise only make use of in such sorte, as I shall judge may bee most agreeable to his Majesties pleasure.

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[1] The words in italics are underlined in the MS., which is the original letter with autograph signature.

As for the seacond parte of youre letter, wherein yow say:—That if I desire to make use of that pardon, his Majestie expects that I should, at least, forbeare to magnifie my services, or out of an opinion of my owne innocencye cast any aspersion upon his Majesties justice, et^a^. To this pointe I answeare, that, as I hope I shall never erre in that sort of immodestie of valuing of my services which I acknowledge to have ben accompanyed with infinite weakenesses and disabillities, soe I hope it shall not displease that I make use to my owne comfort and the honour of my posteritye of those many written testemonyes which my late most blessed master hath lefte me of his gratious acceptance of my services for the space of 20^tye^ yeares. Soe likewise I hope the modest avowing of my innocencye will not be thought to cast any aspersion upon his Majesties honour or justice. And I must freely confesse unto your Lordship that I am much afflicted to see inferrencyes of this nature made, both in your Lordship's last letter and in this. For if it shall be inferred as a thing reflecting upon the King's honour that a man questioned, before he be convict, shall endeavour to defend his owne innocencye, it will be impossible for any man to be safe, for the honour of his Majestie is too sacred a thing for any subject, how innocent soever, to contest against. Soe likewise, God forbidd that it should be brought into consequence, as in your former letter, as a taxe upon the government and justice of his late Majestie or of his Majestie that now is, that I should have suffred soe long yf I were not guiltie. For as I have never bin heard soe much as to repine of injustice in theire Majesties in all my suffrings, soe I well know that the long continuance of my troubles may well be attributed unto other causes, as to myne owne errours of passion or other accidents. And your Lordship may well remember that my affayres were almost two yeares since upon the pointe of a happie accommodation, had it not bin interrupted by the unfortunate mistaking of the speeches used to Mr. Clarke.[1]

I shall conclude by the intreating of your Lordship's favour that I may understand from you, as I hope, for my comfort, that this letter hath given his Majestie satisfaction, or if there should yet remayne any scruple, that I may have a cleere and plaine signification of the King's pleasure, which I shall obey with all humilitie; and soe I leave your Lordship to God's most holy proteccion, resting

Your Lordship's humble servant,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne, the 30th of March, 1626.

My very good Lord.[2] By his Majesties commandment I herewith send unto your Lordship your writ of summons for the Parliament; but withall signify his Majesties pleasure herein further that, howsoever he gives way to the awarding of the writ, yet his meaning is thereby not to discharge any former directions for restraint of your Lordship's coming hither, but that you continue under the same restriction as you did before; so as your Lordship's personal attendance is to be forborn, and

[1] See p. xv.

[2] Lord Keeper Coventry to Bristol, March 31, 1626. Printed in Rushworth, i. 238.

therein I doubt not but your Lordship will readily give his Majestie satisfaction; and so I commend my service very heartily unto your Lordship, and remain

Your Lordship's assured friend and servant,

THO. COVENTRY, C.S.

Dorset Court, March 31, 1626.

May it please your Lordship.[1] I have received your Lordship's letter of the 31 of March, and with it his Majesties writ of summons for the Parliament. In the one his Majesty commandeth me that, all excuses set aside, upon my faith and allegiance I fail not to come and attend his Majesty; and this under the great seal of England. In the other, as in a letter missive, his Majesties pleasure is intimated by your Lordship, that my personal attendance should be forborn. I must crave leave ingeniously to confess unto your Lordship that I want judgment rightly to direct myself in this case, as likewise that I am ignorant how far this may trench upon the privileges of the peers of this land, and upon mine and their safety hereafter. For, if the writ be not obeyed, the law calleth it a misprision and highly fineable, whereof we have had late examples; and a missive letter, being avowed or not, is to be doubted would not be adjudged a sufficient discharge against the Great Seal of England. On the other side, if the letter be not obeyed, a Peer may *de facto* be committed upon a contempt in the interim, and the question cleared afterwards; so that in this case it is above mine abilities. I can only answer your Lordship that I will most exactly obey; and to the end I may understand which obedience will be in all kinds most suitable to my duty, I will presently repair to my private lodging at London, and there remain untill in this and other causes I shall have petitioned his Majesty, and understand his further pleasure. For the second part of your Lordship's letter, where your Lordship saith that "his Majesties meaning is not thereby to discharge any former directions for restraint of your Lordship's coming hither, but that you continue under the same restriction as before, so that your Lordship's personal attendance here is to be forborne," I conceive your Lordship intendeth this touching my coming to Parliament only; for, as touching my coming to London, I never had at any time one word of prohibition, or colorable pretence of restraint; but, on the contrary, having his late Majesties express leave to come to London to follow my affairs, out of my respect to his Majesty then Prince, and to the Duke of Buckingham, I forbore to come until I might know whether my coming would not be disagreeable unto them; whereunto his Majesty was pleased to answer both under the hand of the Duke and of Mr. Secretary Conway[2] that he took my respect unto him herein in very good part, and would wish me to make use of the leave the King had given me; since which time I never received any letter or message of restraint; only his Majesty, by his letter bearing date June last, commandeth me to

[1] Bristol to Lord Keeper Coventry, April 12, 1626. Printed in Rushworth, i. 238.

[2] So the name stands in Rushworth; but the next letter shows that Cottington's should be substituted for it.

remain as I was in the time of the King his father, which was with liberty to come to London to follow my own affairs as I pleased, as will appear unto your Lordship, if you will afford me so much favor as to peruse them. I have writ this much unto your Lordship, because I would not through misunderstanding fall into displeasure by my coming up, and to intreat your Lordship to inform his Majesty thereof; and that my Lord Conway, by whose warrant I was only restrained in the late King's time of famous memory, may produce any one word that may have so much as any colorable pretence of debarring my coming up to London. I beseech your Lordship to pardon my desire to have things clearly understood, for the want of that formerly hath caused all my troubles; and when anything is misinformed concerning me, I have little or no means to clear it, so that my chief labor is to avoid misunderstanding. I shall conclude with beseeching your Lordship to do me this favor, to let his Majesty understand that my coming up is onely rightly to understand his pleasure, whereunto I shall in all things most dutifully and humbly conform myself, and so, with my humble service to your Lordship, I recommend you to God's holy protection, and remain

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne, April 12, 1626.

My Lord.[1] I have and shalbe very punctual in obeying all your Lordship's orders both by word and letter, and therefore, having receaved a message from your Lordship divers monthes since by Mr. Greislye, that when I should come to my house or lodging in London I should give notice thereof, I have thought fitt to give your Lordship knowledge that I intend, God willing, for the settling of affaires which importe my whole estate, and for the recoverye of my decayed health, to repaire shortly to my private lodging at St. Giles; and, although I shall not faile presently upon my arrivall to give your Lordship notice thereof, yet for the avoyding of all misunderstandings (by which alreadie I have suffred much) I thought fitt to advertise your Lordship thereof beforehand, least any restrainte in that kinde might be obtruded upon me, whereby I might incurre displeasure, I assuring your Lordship that neither from yourself, nor any other, I have receaved at any time so much as one word of prohibition or coulorable pretence of restrayning me from comming to London; but to the contrary having his late Majesties expresse leave to come to London and to follow my affaires, but out of my due respect to his Majestie, then Prince, I forbore to come untill I might knowe whether my comming would not be disagreeable unto him, whereunto his Majestie was pleased to make answeare both by the Duke of Buckingham as likewise by Mr. Secretarye Cottington, as will appeare by theire letters[2], that he tooke my respect unto him herein in very good parte, and would wish me to make use of the liberty his Majestie had given me,

[1] Bristol to Conway, April 12, 1626. S. P. Dom. xxiv. 68.

[2] See p. xxiv. The letters themselves have not been preserved.

since which time I never receaved any message or letter of restrainte in any kind; only from your Lordship a letter of his Majestie bearing date the 10th of June, that I should remayne in the same condition I was in the time of the King his father, which your Lordship best knoweth was farre from any restrainte from comming to London, for untill the time when, under coulor of giving me leave to be absent from Parliament upon mine owne suite, a clause of restrainte was inserted under the King's hand, I never had any kinde of restrainte but what was singly under your Lordship's hand. And therefore, for the avoyding of all mistakes I have thought fitt to give you this timely notice, beseeching you that if you conceave that there be any coulor for any such restrainte that you would signifie unto me by your letter when or how it was, which I shall readily obey, but I shall be loath by mistakes and conjectures to be frighted into a confinement. But if it must be, I pray your Lordship that it may be done cleerely and avowedly, for that my comming up importeth my whole estate, which is intended to be questioned, and my health, for which yf I seeke not present remedye, which is not heere to be had, I am told I shall runne much hazard; yet I shall most readilie obey all your orders untill God shalbe pleased to send me redresse; and soe, not having for the present further wherewith to trouble your Lordship, I most humbly recommend your Lordship to God's most holy protection, and rest

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

Sherborne, the 12th of April, 1626.

What followed upon this correspondence is matter of history. It is well known that Bristol came up to London and petitioned the House of Lords. Then followed the charges brought against him by the Attorney-General, and the counter charges brought by him against Buckingham and Conway. The whole dispute was brought to an end by the dissolution of Parliament. Bristol was then sent to the Tower, and a process was commenced against him in the Star Chamber. But the case was postponed from time to time, and at last, when Charles was looking about for support from all sides before the meeting of a fresh Parliament in 1628, and when he had almost forgotten his old quarrel with Spain in the heat of his new quarrel with France, Bristol obtained what he had always asked for, permission to kiss the King's hands, without making any acknowledgment whatever.

If it were still necessary to throw light upon Charles's mode of treating men who differed from him, nothing could serve the purpose better than these letters. No question of any collision between privilege and prerogative arose here. The Royal authority for any purpose of government was in no way at stake. It was merely a question whether the powers of the Crown were to be put forth to restrain the liberty of a subject without ever bringing him to trial, in order to prevent him from opening his mouth to say that he had been right when the King considered him to have been wrong. The question between Charles and Bristol was the question between Charles and Eliot in its simplest form.

Of Bristol himself it is not necessary here to say much. If he preceded Eliot in his defence of the subject's liberties, he was far behind him in his grasp of constitutional theory. He had himself never been a member of the House of Commons, and it was hardly likely that he would associate himself with the movement for the exaltation of that body. The value of the story of his resistance consists in the fact that he was standing entirely aloof from political contests, and that he therefore placed it upon grounds which commend themselves to all, whatever their political theories may be.

Errata: p. 9, note [1], for "Properly, at that time, Lord Keeper," read "Properly, at the time of the first appointment of the Commission, Attorney-General."

P. 21, last line, dele "

THE EARL OF BRISTOL'S DEFENCE.

I. Statement made by the Earl of Bristol of his proceedings in connection with the Spanish Marriage Treaty.

Forasmuche [as], in the Interrogatories administred vnto the Earle of Bristoll by his Majesties commaundement, bearing date the 30. of June, 1624, in his answeare to the second clause of the 7th Interrogatorye, wherein hee is demaunded: why hee would so confidently assure his Majestie of theyr reall proceeding in Spayne, having beene acquainted with the affront putt upon his Majestie in the Treaty for Prince Henry; hee sayth:—For the giving a due answeare to the point in question, by deducing businesses downe from Prince Henry's tyme untill this present, would bee of greater lengthe then befitted that his Answeare, he would in a paper aparte set downe the whole progresse of the treatyes for a match with Spain from the yeare 1611 untill this present: hee hathe, in performance of his dutye and his promise made in the sayd answeare, written the subsequent Discourse, which containethe all the passages in the treatyes of a marriage since his firste imployment into Spayne untill the arrivall of his Highnes and my Lord Duke of Buckinghame in Spayne; which hee desirethe may bee presented unto his Majesty and my Lords the Commissioners. And for the carriage and miscarriage of the busines from that tyme untill his revocation, hee is likewise ready to give his Majesty a true account thereof, whensoever his Majesty shall commaund it.

Firste. The Earl of Bristoll desireth that yt may be considered that the marriage with Spayne was not propounded by him, as will appeare by his instruction, 1611, when hee went firste into Spayne, hee being appointed then to propound a marriage for Prince Henry,

but was no way admitted to the consultyve parte of his imployment then, nor in many yeares after.

And that a matche with Spayne seemed by the ministers of those tymes so muche to bee desired that the Infanta Doña Ana, that King's eldest daughter (for whome hee made the firste motion) being already promised to the Kinge of France, the Earl of Bristol had order, by a dispatche bearing date the 25th of January, 1611, stilo vet., signed by the Earl of Salisbury in his Majesties name, to propound that Kinge Phillipp the 3rd would adopt a niece, one of the daughters of Savoy, and treate a marriage for Prince Henry, which not being approved in Spayne, and answeare being made that that King had daughters of his owne, notwithstanding that there was such a strong disparitie in yeares (Prince Henry being then neare twenty, and the Infanta Doña Maria about seven yeares of age), yet the desire of those tymes seemed to be so muche set upon a matche with Spayne, that the Earl of Bristol had order by second letters, bearing date the laste of March, 1612, signed by the Lords of Salisbury, Northampton, Lennox, Suffolk, Worcester, and Pembroke, to propound a matche for Prince Henry with the sayd youngest daughter. The which accordingly he did, and received answeare that the King of Spain would willingly hearken unto the matche, so that Prince Henry would become a Roman Catholick. To which unequall and dishonorable motion the Earl of Bristoll made answer that the King his master desired to refer it to that King's own judgement, what censure that King should deserve, both from the hands of God and the world, that, having so many wayes expressed his constancie and love to the faythe and religion which he professed, should showe himselfe so full of impietie and dishonour as to persuade his sonne to make exchange of his soule for a wife or any earthly fortune whatsoever. And if the King of Spayne would not for a world (as hee professed) bee eyther the direct or indirect causer of the hazard of his daughter's perversion, that that King mighte bee pleased to consider that yf hee bee therein so exact as befittethe a

King in point of religion and honour, that the King his master was likewise in no degree lesse: and therefore had commaunded him planely to declare, that though hee could not but make a kinde and princely construction of the offer which that King made of his daughter (as judging her moste worthy of any prince whatsoever), yet for his demaund of the Prince his becoming a Romane Catholick, the King his master held yt unworthy of him, and would absolutely refuse to bestowe the Prince his sonne upon these conditions, were the person offred the sole heyre of the monarchie of the world.

After the answeare, the speache of any matche was utterly silenced for a good space. In which interim yt will appeare, by many testimonies, with how much fidelitie and vigilancie the Earl of Bristoll served both the King, Churche, and Commonwealthe, by the particulars following:—

Firste. There being at that tyme an English seminary begun to bee erected at Madrid, at the charge of one Cæsar Boccaccio, concerning which Sir Thomas Lake (by his Majesties order) had written unto the Earl of Bristoll by his letters of the 14. of November, 1612 (as despayring that yt could bee prevented), that hee should not strive muche in yt; yet the Earl of Bristoll prevayled so muche by his industrye, as after the students were settled there to have them removed, and Father Creswell himselfe (then of greate power in Spayne) to bee sent out of that Courte. The particular relation whereof he referreth to those his dispatches of the 4th of January and 18. of February, 1612, which then seemed to be services so acceptable, that his Majestie caused the Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] in a letter bearing date the 15. of June, 1613, all written in his owne hand, to write as followethe, viz.: "Lett him knowe that I well and very well accept of his service there. I tell you he hathe donne mee suche service there as never any embassador did mee before."

And the late Bishopp of Winchester,[2] in his of the 6. of

[1] Archbishop Abbot.

[2] Bishop Montague.

Aprill, written all likewise with his owne hand, saythe—"I am loathe to write so much to you of his Majestics good opinion of you, and of his gratious acceptance of your services, as truly I may. But truly upon your laste dispatche hee tolde mee how diligent and how industrious a minister you were; how able and how honest. I tolde his Majestie I would bee so bolde as to lett you understand thereof. For I found nothing made you more willing to serve him than to heare of his Majesties good acceptance thereof. And withall, his Majestie gave mee the letters of the King of Spayne to Aquaviva, and the reste of Creswell's to the Provinciall and theyr Generall, and wondering how that busines of overthrowing the newe erected seminarye could bee brought about, saying—that it was the noblest parte and the moste powerfull that ever embassador playd." And the bishopp concludes with a God bee thanked for yt, and that it will ever remayne a trophee of your love and service to the Churche, besides King and State.

That for some yeares togeather there was no *consulta* nor letter written in Spayne by that King or counsell whereof the Earl of Bristoll procured not his Majestie by his industrye a copie, and for the most parte sent yt before the originall could arrive at the place to which yt was directed.

That, all his Majesties chief ministers being pensioners then to Spaine, without regard of person the Earl of Bristoll made a free and cleare discoverye of them all unto his Majestie, which procured him a greate enmitie and hatred, which hathe lasted towards him ever since; allthough, at the same tyme, the Earl of Bristoll prevayled so muche with his Majestie as to obtayne that no man was questioned or disgraced thereupon, humbly beseeching his Majestie to have regard rather to services that mighte be donne him for the future, by the intelligence which he had settled, than, by punishing paste disservices, to hazard the discoverye of yt; which his Majestie was pleased to condescend unto. And the Earl of Bristoll (as a faythefull servant) disguised nothing from his Majestie,

yet omitted nothing that could bee done to keepe the parties in fault from disgrace or question.

That when Scioppius (like another fowle-mouthed Shimei) scattred a rayling and infamous libell, full of irreverent language and disrespect unto his Majestie, and that the Earl of Bristoll could not procure suche exemplary punishment to bee inflicted on his person as he held fitt for his Majesties greatnes, yt is well knowen with how muche hazard hee caused his Majesties honour to be vindicated in the publique face of that courte by a neere kinsman of his.[1]

That for the true understanding of the Spaniards intentions, the Earl of Bristoll procured to gett into his hands all the King of Spaynes originall papers, both the secrete instructions and dispatches to theyr embassadors, and all consultas concerning England ever since the peace. And after hee had copyed them, hee made upon everye one of them a privy secrete-marcke before they were returned to the Kinges cabinett. To the end that yf hee should have had occasion to make use of any of those papers by way of allegation, hee might have tolde them where to find that marke, to the end they might knowe the originall had beene in his hands. And with these markes the sayd secrett papers still remayne. And the copies of them are in the Earl of Bristoll's hands, ever ready for his Majestyes use and service.

And of all these services, hee can showe suche testimonies of his Majesties high estimation of them, both under his Majesties owne hand and from his ministers by his order, that hee conceivethe no subject can produce greater from the prince his master then the Earl of Bristoll can.

By that which is hitherto sayd, yt will appeare that the Earl of Bristoll in the proposition of the matche for Prince Henry had nothing to doe, but with the parte of obedience; and that in all other thinges, eyther touching the King, Churche, or Common-

[1] By beating Scioppius.

wealthe, hee behaved himselfe with fidelitie and some measure of vigilancie.

It will now bee fitt to sett downe in the next place how the matche for Prince Charles began to bee renewed, and what connexion yt had with the former proposition.

After that this demaund of the Spaniards for Prince Henry his becoming a Romane Catholick was represented into England, the Prince in all things began to showe himselfe disaffectionate to Spayne, and a matche for his Highnes was neere upon conclusion with a daughter of Savoy, when yt pleased God to take unto himselfe that noble and worthy Prince.

At the same tyme, those distastes betwixt Spayne and Savoy, which afterwards broke out to a direct warr touching Monferrato, were at theyr highthe: and the Spanish embassadors out of England, and likewise the ancient counsellors of Spayne, often and seriously represented unto that King and to the Duke of Lerma (who then chiefly guided the affayres of that State) how important it was for the upholding of that monarchie, to bee upon good tearmes with England, and that there had been a greate errour committed in that strict and rigide demaund touching the match with Prince Henry; and to this effect the Conde de Gondemar wrote many serious and pressing dispatches into Spayne upon his firste coming into this imployment, alleaging that by the deathe of Prince Henry the matche was become more equall and treatable by reason of the fittnes and suitablenes of yeares betwixt Prince Charles and the Lady Marie. Hee alleaged allso besides the ancient and received maxime of Spayne, " Paz con Inglatierra, y con todo el mundo guerra," many important advantages for the good of that Crowne, and the advancement of Catholique religion, which by a match and perfect amitie with England would acrewe; and this his advice was seconded by the opinion of Don Juan de Idiaques, and all the ancient counsellours of those tymes. Whereupon the Duke of Lerma began to have many discourses with the Earle of Bristoll, who admitted of none, but still gave an account of all secretely

unto his Majestie, and had order to heare all that should be propounded, but tolde the Duke of Lerma that hee was soe farr discouraged by that harshe and unreasonable answer to the proposition for Prince Henry that hee had little hope ever to see the difference in religion so reconciled as to make a matche againe treatable. Whereupon hee assured the Earl of Bristoll that that King and State so muche desired a matche and perfect alliance with England that, on theyr parte, they would stretche as farr to accommodate differences as they could eyther with honour or conscience; and thereupon was there called a junta of the chiefe divines in Spayne, who were required to deliver theyr opinions, and to sett downe suche conditions (as being graunted by the King of England) the King of Spayne mighte safely bestowe his daughter upon a prince of a different religion; and that those conditions were to bee without touching upon the Prince his conversion or tolleration of religion. For that the Earl of Bristoll had declared plainely that no treaty or overture would bee admitted or hearkned unto where eyther of those points should bee so muche as touched. Whereupon the Duke of Lerma, in the yeare 1614, delivered unto the Earl of Bristoll certayne conditions in writing, which had beene agreed upon by the divines. But the Earl of Bristoll was so farr from giving hopes or incouragement in the matche that hee absolutely refused to promise so muche as to send them unto his Majestie, declaring that hee judged them unworthy of him. Yet underhand he sent them secretely unto his Majesty, togeather with his opinion how unfitt they were to bee admitted of, and that he had disavowed the sending of them. Yet upon them was the matche for Prince Charles again renewed, and good hopes given to the Spanish embassador. But the firste condition propounded was that the Earl of Bristoll (then Sir John Digbye) must have nothing to doe with the match, but that the Spanishe embassador must send for a commission to treate and conclude the matche with the ministers heere; and the Spanishe embassador was made acquainted with all that the Earl of Bristoll had written; and the very articles that he had

secretly sent out of Spayne (protesting against the admitting or sending of them unto his Majestie, as judging them unworthy of him,) were putt into the Spanishe embassador's hands; and thereupon the Conde de Gondemar (then Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña) wrote unto the Duke of Lerma that it was desired heere that the Earl of Bristoll should have nothing to doe with the busines, but that hee mighte have authoritie to treate the matche with the chiefe ministers in England; and accordingly order was sent unto the Conde de Gondemar, and the Duke of Lerma withdrewe from the Earl of Bristoll all maner of treating or proceeding in the busines, more than so muche as he conceived would serve to disguise the busines and holde him in ignorance, whilest in the interim things were seriously debated and advanced in England untill, by the Earl of Somerset's misfortune, this negotiation was for some small tyme interrupted. The which was sone after in a manner renewed by severall conferences held betwixt the Spanish embassador and the Earl of Kelly.[1] But the Earl of Bristoll was never made acquainted with the former proceeding, nor with the renewing of yt by the Earl of Kelly. But yt is true that by his owne industrie and private intelligence hee gott exact and perfect knowledge of all that passed in England and of all the embassadour wrote into Spayne. And not knowing whether these proceedings were by his Majesties approbation, without respect of any person acquainted his Majestie with all that had passed, as hee doubteth not his Majestie will well remember; and so he conceiveth dothe the Earl of Kelly, who, yt should seeme, had sufficient warrant for all he did from the King; for that, the next day after the Earl of Bristoll had acquainted his Majestie with all the particulars, the Earl of Kelly meeting him in the gallerye, said merily unto him: "I see, Mr. Vice-Chamberlayne, I had beene litle beholding unto you yf I had been a knave."

In the yeare 1615 the Earl of Bristoll was by his Majestie recalled and commaunded presently to repayre into England.

[1] At that time Viscount Fenton.

Thereupon the Duke of Lerma acquainted him in some sorte with the proceedings, and desired him to doe all good offices for the increasing of amitie and neare alliance at his returne, assuring him that by that King and his ministers yt was very really desired, and that they would doe all that was possible on theyr side to accommodate differences yf his Majestie would doe the like on his parte; whiche the Earl of Bristoll promised to represent unto his Majestie, as hee did faithfully, and received direction from his Majestie to write severall letters to the Duke of Lerma as from himselfe, which letters (for his better warrant in all tymes) the Earl of Bristoll moved his Majestie to sign the copie of them with his owne hand, warranting him to send them, which his Majestie was pleased to doe. These letters were showed to the commissioners, as likewise the Duke of Lerma's answeares, which gave his Majestie all assurance of theyr reall desiring of the matche in Spayne, and doing all things on theyr parte that mighte conduce unto yt, as will appeare by the letters which are ready to bee produced. Upon this assurance of the Duke of Lerma's, his Majestie was resolved to begin the treaty.

Whereupon the Earl of Bristoll humbly moved his Majestie, that, before anything were donne, there might be a commission of Lords nominated, by whose advice all things mighte passe; whereupon his Majestie was pleased to nominate for commissioners the Lord Duke of Lenox; Sir Francis Bacon, lord chancellor;[1] the Earl of Suffolke, lord treasurer; the Earl of Nottinghame, lord admiral; the Earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlayne; the now Duke of Buckinghame; the Earl of Arundell; the Earl of Worcester; the Lord of Kelly;[2] Sir Thomas Lake; and the Earl of Bristoll;[3] to whome there was an exact and punctuall account given of all that had passed, and with theyr advice his Majestie resolved to send an extraordinary embassage into Spayne, and was pleased to make choyse of the person of the Earl of Bristoll,[3] whose instructions were

[1] Properly, at that time, Lord Keeper.
[2] Then Viscount Fenton.
[3] Then Sir John Digby.

drawen by the sayd commissioners after mature advise and debate, and then offred unto his Majestie, who, approving of them, signed them.

The Earl of Bristoll[1] began his journey towards Spayne in the month of Auguste 1617, and returned in Aprill 1618, and gave unto the lords the commissioners suche an account of his negotiations, that they were pleased to give testimonie of him unto his Majestie that hee in all thinges had behaved himselfe like a faythfull and good servant, having in points of religion not only been more reserved than by his instructions hee mighte have beene, but likewise added severall conditions much to his Majesties honor and advantage, both in religion and the point of portion; and thereof his Majestie hathe likewise beene pleased to give manie testimonies, especially when yt pleased God to visitt him with a dangerous sicknes at Royston, where amongst many other his servants whome he recommended unto the Prince, hee was pleased in suche sorte to recommend the Earl of Bristoll, that hee acknowledgethe to meritt no kind of grace or favour, but to have deserved all rigour, yf hee hathe beene wanting eyther in his fidelitie or his industrie towards so gratious a master. Amongst other things his Majestie was then pleased to say that, although the Earl of Bristoll mighte suffer in the world (as being held Spanish) hee had carefully watched him, and, if hee should have ever found any minte in him towards Spayne (more then agreed with his pleasure and directions) he should have hated him ; but that hee had found him a faythful servant herein, and not to have gone one stepp without his liking. Although, for the advancing of his service and ends, yt was fitt for him to upholde a good opinion and reputation with Spayne.

Before the Earl of Bristoll his departure towards Spayne, hee craved leave of his Majestie to acquaint the Prince his Highnes with all particulars of his negotiation, as hee did, and presumed to give his Highnes in writing bothe what his opinion was, and what

[1] Then Sir John Digby.

he held his dutye, firste as a counsellor, secondly as a servant. The contents whereof is that which followethe :—

" Sir,[1] The opinion that I have ever presumed humbly to offer unto his Majestie concerning your Highnes marriage hathe beene that, bothe in regard of conscience and satisfaction to his Majesties people and allies, as likewise for the securitie and quiett of his Majesties estates, that your Highnes mighte take to wife some Protestant princesse, although shee were neyther daughter to king, or had any so ample portion as mighte relieve the King's present necessities, for that there mighte many meanes bee found for helping of the King's wants, either by some few years' providence, or by the joining of the affection of the people to the supplying of his Majestie by the way of subsidies in Parliament. Whereas contrariwise, yf the number and power of the Papists shall bee increased, as undoubtedly yt will bee by your Highnes matching with any Catholic princesse whatsoever, through the commerce which must bee of necessitie for the exercise of her religion for herselfe and familie within your Highnes courte ; and thereby by degrees these two different religions shall growe to an equalitie of power, which will bee of greate hazard and disquiett to the State, and not to bee redressed without greate danger and courses of greater violence than is proper or usuall for this State to put in practise. But in case his Majestie, out of his wisdome and considerations, beste knowen to himselfe, holde yt fittest that your Highnes matche with France or Spayne, or any other Catholick, eyther for that the present tyme affordethe no Protestant princesse which is for yeares or blood suitable to your Highnes, or that can in any considerable measure by her portion supply his Majesties present want, I then conceive that the matche by which this State shall suffer leaste inconvenience and cumber, and whereby your Highnes issue will have the moste undoubted and unquestionable royall blood, and whereby his

[1] This paper is printed in the State Trials (ii. 1408) with some verbal difference, and the omission of one clause—"and whereby your Highnes issue will have the most undoubted and unquestionable royal blood."

Majesties necessities shall (by the greatness of the portion) bee the moste relieved, is with Spayne—yf such a matche may bee made with suche conditions of religion as other Catholick princes will content themselves withall. Thus muche I thought fitt humbly to present unto your Highnes, for that I see my imployment lyable to the censure of many worthy and religious men,—with whom though I concurre in my opinion, yet I seeme muche to differ from them in my wayes; for that yt is more proper for mee to bee true to my master's ends and service then, by declaring this, to procure theyr satisfaction. Only to your Highnes I thought fitt to make this declaration, and shall have a suitor for your favour as you shall see mee really labour to putt this in effect; and yf his Majestie shall, eyther upon motion of Parliament or any other proposition that shall bee made unto him, thinke yt fitt to proceede with a Protestant matche, as I shall wishe as well unto yt as any man living, so I hope in suche sorte to manage the present busines that I have in hand, as yt shall rather muche further then any way crosse or hinder yt; but in case his Majestie shall not bee drawen to hearken to any proposition for a Protestant matche, I then conceive that your Highnes bothe dothe and will approve that I really and effectually labour to procure a matche for your Highnes with Spayne upon suche conditions in point of religion and portion as to his Majestie shall seeme fit."

Now by this paper yt will appeare that the Earl of Bristoll was not the mover of the Spanish matche, nor positively for yt; in his opinion preferring any matche with a Protestant before all others, and the matche with Spayne butt only comparatively in respect of other Catholick matches.

But during the tyme of the Earl of Bristoll's absence, notice being gotten of this paper left with the Prince, the Earl of Bristol was traduced to the King as a servant that was not true and faythfull to his ends and service, but that underhand hee had written and laboured to disuade the Prince from the matche intended for him by his father. And heereupon the Earl of Bristoll had like

to have fallen under a greate cloude of his Majesties displeasure (as is well knowen to many of my Lords), had not his Majestie beene pleased then to afforde him a gratious hearing, wherein the Earl of Bristoll made yt appeare that the substance of the paper was the same which hee had ever spoken unto his Majestie, that, as a counsellor, he ever wished a Protestant matche in the firste place. But yf, for want of a fitting person, or other respects best knowen unto his Majestie, he should holde yt fitt to bestowe the Prince otherwise, and therein to employ his service, hee would moste humbly lay downe his owne opinion, and moste faythfully (to the uttmoste of his power) pursue his Majesties ends, as in this employment hee made it appeare unto his Majestie he had done. And thereupon his Majesties favour cleared agayne, which for some dayes had been clowded towards him.

And at the same tyme, there being a hope, not only to bring the Earl of Bristoll into his Majesties disfavour and discreditt, but likewise utterly to disgrace and discreditt him with Spayne, the copie of the sayd paper was sent[1] to the Spanish Embassador to lett him see how faynt a frend the Earl of Bristoll was to the Spanishe matche; and how reall and true they were that sent him this paper. And this hathe beene usuall upon all occasions, firste in England and since in Spayne (as hee can instance in many particulars) to give notice unto the Spanishe ministers of whatsoever the Earl of Bristoll sayd or advertized to the advantage of his Majestie or religion, and the dis-service of Spayne. Insomuch that yt is well knowen to many, in what opinion hee was with the Spaniards as the only man that was opposite to theyr ends and pretentions by the matche. But the Spanish Embassador having notice how really the Earl of Bristoll had proceeded in Spayne, and that this paper was no other in effect than what the Earl of Bristoll had ever by word of mouth professed unto himselfe, vizt., that

[1] Blank in MS. Perhaps the name of the sender had been here inserted in the original.

hee primarily and, in the firste place, desired that the Prince mighte marrye with one of his owne religion; but, in case that mighte not bee, of all Catholick matches hee judged a Spanishe matche the beste, and to that end had in his late negotiation faythefully pursued his Majesties ends, and so settled and agreed points of religion that the King of Spayne had undertaken to send presently a person of purpose to procure the dispensation, the Spanish Embassador, after some small showe of jealousie and discontent, passed over that business, which by others was laboured hee should have pressed against the Earl of Bristoll to have wrought his ruine with his Majestie.

At the same tyme the Spanishe Embassador avowed firste unto his Majestie, and afterwards publiquely at the counsell table, before all the Commissioners, all that the Earl of Bristoll had treated in Spayne, where all the articles were read, and all suche promises which had passed by word of mouthe were there averred and confirmed by him. And he showed the King of Spayne his master's letters to warrant him in all particulars; insomuche that bothe the Lordes Commissioners and his Majestie were then pleased highly to approvē the solidnes and directnes of the Earl of Bristoll's proceeding. And heere it is to bee remembred that, in this interim, diverse of the Commissioners being by sicknes or accident hindred from attending the commission, as my Lord of Nottinghame, my Lord of Suffolke, and Sir Thomas Lakę, the Earl of Bristoll moved his Majestie that in so greate a busines his Majestie would keepe the commission full, and, particularly, that hee would bee pleased to add suche as were judged to bee least favourable unto the matche of Spayne, alleaging to his Majestie (which hee doubteth not but hee well remembreth) that a matche with Spayne was not to bee stolne by the pluralitie of votes well inclined, but that it was to endure the strictest and most adverse examination; and that, in case they alleage suche reasons and inconveniences agaynst the matche as mighte move his Majestie in his wisdome not to pursue any further, God forbidd but they should bee hearkned unto, and

that his Majestie should follow theyr advice. But in case they should see juste cause to approve his Majesties proceedings, and should unanimously concurre in the further prosecution of this treaty, yt could not but add muche, both for the justification of the busines and the satisfaction of the world, when yt should bee seene to pass the examination and sifting of suche as were rather judged averse than favourable to the busines, further then they should bee induced by the strengthe of reason and the good of his Majesties service. Heereupon his Majesty was pleased to add unto the commission my Lord Marques Hamilton, the Lord of Doncaster, Mr. Secretary Naunton; and after the Lord President of the Counsell,[1] the Lord Keeper,[2] and the Chancellor of the Exchequer,[3] without whose advice and mature debating all things that were offred, nothing was done whilest the treating of the busines remained in the Earl of Bristoll's hands.

But yt being agreed by the articles which the Earl of Bristoll had settled, anno 1617, that the dispensation was solely by the King of Spayne to bee procured, all things were so disposed of that the yeare after the Padre Maestro[4] was dispatched unto Rome to that purpose. And the Conde de Gondemar having in the interim made a journey that yeare[5] into Spayne, at his returne[6] assured his Majestie of theyr reall intention in Spayne to proceede with his Majestie in the matche, and brought order to confirme all that had been promised unto the Earl of Bristoll, and particularly for the advancement of half a million[7] which had beene by the Earl of Bristoll negotiated beyond any instruction that hee had, which hee did upon this ground:—

Hee seeing that the recourse which the King of Spayne was to have unto Rome could not but putt greate disequality upon the

[1] Viscount Mandeville.
[2] John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln.
[3] Sir Richard Weston.
[4] Diego de la Fuente, Gondomar's confessor.
[5] In 1618.
[6] In 1620.
[7] Of ducats; they were to be of twelve reals or 6*s*. each, the whole sum being £150,000.

treaty, for that his Majestie treated absolutely and independently, but the King of Spayne was only obliged under condition, and with reference to the Pope's dispensation, thought fitt for a counter-securitie of the treaty to propound the anticipation of halfe a million which (after muche debate) hee gott condescended unto in Spayne. And the Conde de Gondemar brought order (as he declared unto his Majestie in the presence of diverse) for the advancing of the sayde halfe million, though it is true that use was not made thereof, for that (the trouble of Germany and the invasion of the Palatinate being then hapned,) the King and the Lords held yt not fitt nor honourable to presse for the King of Spayne's money, when they were in doubte whether these occasions mighte administer a juste cause of quarrell.

By these occasions, as likewise by the deathe of the King of Spayne, Phillipp the 3rd, as allso of the Pope Paulus Quintus, the treatie of the matche with Spayne was somewhat retarded, and the Earl of Bristoll in the interim was imployed in embassage to the Archdukes and to the Emperour,[1] and from thence was to take his journey into Spayne upon those assurances that were given by his Majesties ministers in Spayne, Sir Walter Aston and Sir Francis Cottington, of the professions of reall and sincere proceeding made unto them there ; they having from tyme to tyme particular charge to bring the busines to as much assurance as mighte bee before his Majestie should again send thether any embassage, as will appeare by dispatches made unto them by the Earl of Bristoll by the King's order, wherein no other language was ever held unto them but that they should labour to bring the busines of the matche to a speedy and certayne issue; that yf they should find any coldeness therein and desire to winne tyme they should labour to disingage his Majestie, for that it imported his Majestie and these kingdomes so muche to have the Prince bestowed, that if his Majestie should eyther finde difficultye or delay, hee should be forced to alter his resolution for the matching of his sonne, and judge that the beste

[1] In 1621.

matche that conveniently mighte firste bee had. To these instructions yt will, by theyr dispatches in answeare of them, appeare what returne was made by Sir Walter Aston and Sir Francis Cottington, which were to the effect following:—

That that King and his ministers gave them all assurances of the proceeding in the matche; that presently, upon the deathe of Phillipp the 3rd, Sir Walter Aston received assurance from this King's owne mouthe, that hee desired the matche as muche as his father had done, and would pursue the treaty of yt to a conclusion.

And this language was constantly and unanimously used then in Spayne by all the ministers there, as will appeare by theyr severall dispatches, and by the Spanishe embassador heere unto his Majestie. Upon these grounds and assurances from Spayne, as likewise for the treating of the business of the Palatinate, was the Earl of Bristoll sent agayne into Spayne in the yeare 1621, the Lords Commissioners meeting often for the directing of the negotiation; and his instructions were (after muche debate and deliberation) drawen by the Commissioners, who still gave his Majestie an account of all that they resolved at the end of every meeting, and received his approbation.

The Earl of Bristoll arrived at Madrid about the beginning of June 1622, and had his firste audience within fewe dayes after. And so presently began to propound the busines for which hee was sent, bothe to the Kinge and Don Bathezar de Çuniga,[1] who then chiefly had hand in busines. For untill after his deathe the Conde de Olivares only meddled with things of the King's grace and bountye, but with no business of state, eyther at home or abroade.

The Earl of Bristoll his proposition will appeare by his dispatche of the 28. of June, which was to this effect:—

That whereas the treaty had depended some yeares, yt now imported the King his master highly to see yt brought to some certayne and speedy issue, having but onely one sonne, and hee being arrived to the yeares allmoste of twenty-two. That the scope

[1] Baltazar de Zuniga, uncle of Olivares.

of his Majesties sending at present was, eyther to bring the sayd matche to a speedy conclusion, or otherwise, in case hee should finde the difficulties suche as could not bee well reconciled, hee mighte, without losse of any more tyme, so cleare the busines as his Majestie, recalling his ingagement with Spayne, mighte dispose himselfe for the speedy bestowing of the Prince his sonne elsewhere.

Heereunto hee received answeare, that this King desired the matche no lesse then his father, and that his Majestie should finde reall and speedy procceding. That the Conde de Gondemar was sent for of purpose for the concluding of the busines, and was allready landed in Spayne; and that the King would give order for Commissioners presently to be named for the bringing of this treaty to a speedy conclusion.

And yt will appeare by the same dispatche of the 28. of June (being the firste that the Earl of Bristoll made after his firste audience,) that he was so farr from wynning tyme, or admitting delayes, that hee there cravethe his Majesties leave, that in case hee should finde delatory courses used in the busines, that hee mighte (without expecting any new order) take his leave and come home.

And whereas yt hathe beene objected agaynst the Earl of Bristoll that hee still desired to protract and delay the busines, hee humbly desireth that from this very dispatche (which was the firste hee made out of Spayne) until his very laste, yt may be truly observed whether his language to his Majestie and the Prince, on the one side, were not to admit of no further delay, but rather to thinke on some other course; and on the other side, whither hee pressed not things for a speedy conclusion as farr as eyther tearmes of fayre negotiation, or of good manners, would beare. And then hee doubteth not but yt will clearely appeare that that which hathe beene suggested against him in this kinde will as ill beare the examination as that other that the hopes given by his letters out of Spayne caused his Majestie to forbeare the assisting of the Palatinate, and by that meanes all was lost; when the truthe is that

Heidelberg and all the rest was loste eyther before his firste letters of that subject out of Spayne beare date, or at leaste before they could come unto his Majesties hands; as is particularly made apparent in his answeare to the second interrogatorye.

Upon the arrival of the Conde de Gondemar at Madrid, presently the Commissioners were named, and the treaty began. And the Earl of Bristoll delivered unto the King of Spayne and the Commissioners his propositions in writing, which are heere sett downe: "The Baron Digbye, Embassadour extraordinary of the King of Greate Brittayne, saythe, that yt is allmoste six yeares since a marriage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the Infanta Doña Maria, your Majesties sister, hathe beene in treaty. That yt is five yeares since the articles in matter of religion were agreed upon heere in Spayne, his Majestie (of famous memorye) having firste asked the opinion of many divines, whome hee caused to be assembled about this busines. That the King of Greate Brittayne his master agreed readily to all these articles; and with them, and with that which was promised by word of mouth, which hath beene all perfourmed. And in a letter which the King his master wrote of the 27. of Aprill 1620, in which hee particularly declared what hee would doe in favour of the Catholiques, the busines seemed so well grounded that the Pope's dispensation mighte well be demaunded; and thereupon the fryar Diego de la Fuente was despatched to solicite the same in Rome. The Pope (without replying hither) hathe sent directly into England propounding unto the King not only many alterations in the sayd articles, but some newe things, whereunto his Majestie can in no sorte condescend; this hathe seemed unto the King his master muche differing from that which hee expected.

"First, for that yt is capitulated that the dispensations should be procured by Spayne. Neyther hathe his Majestie treated anything with the Pope, so that whatsoever the Pope would reply, hee ought to have done it to your Majestie by whome the dispensation was required.

"Secondly, for that hee thought that with the foresayd articles,

and that which was further promised, all things in point of religion had beene fully settled; and that theyr divines were of opinion that with these conditions his Holines both mighte and ought to graunt the dispensation: now to see newe and impossible things demaunded seemed very strange unto him.

" And hereupon the King his master, desiring a speedy dispatche of this busines (yt being of so greate importance bothe unto himselfe and his kingdomes to have the Prince his only sonne speedily marryed, he being now neere the age of 22 yeares, and having for the space of six yeares paste forborne to bestowe him in marriage (meerely in respect of this treaty), hathe commaunded him planely to declare unto your Majestie how farr hee can goe in matter of religion; and if your Majestie shall therewith bee contented, that the sayd Embassador without further delay proceede to a conclusion of the marriage; and yf this bee not sufficient to give satisfaction to your Majestie (as hee hopeth it will) since there is muche more graunted than was capitulated in the tyme of the King your father of famous memorie, your Majestie may bee pleased lykewise that it be so declared on your parte, to the end that, without losse of more tyme, the King his master may dispose of the Prince his sonne, and your Majestie of the Infanta your sister, as shall seeme best unto you."

By this manner of proceeding yt will appeare whether the Earl of Bristoll fell shorte of his instructions, or whether, yf any errour were committed, yt were not in the pressing parte beyond what hee had order for.

To this proposition hee had not only from the Commissioners, by word of mouthe, all assurance of reall and speedy proceeding, but likewise received in writing from that King the answeare which followeth: " That Don Baltazar de Çuniga gave an account unto his Majestie of what was sayd and propounded unto him; and that hee was very gladd to heare yt, for that hee is nott only desirous of the union of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta Doña Maria, in regard yt was a busines begun, heard, and treated

by the King his father of famous memorie, but, when that should not have beene, hee would gladly have beene the beginner and concluder of yt, for that his Catholic Majestie hopeth that for the difficulties that can bee heerein (which are matters of religion) the King of Greate Brittayne will overcome and dispose them in that sorte that with the conveniencie of bothe Crownes, and the generall good of Christendome, the Pope not only may but ought to give this dispensation, and his benediction for the conclusion of yt, yt being a thing (as yt hathe allwayes beene sayd) is precisely necessary; and wherein (for our parte) there shall bee all expedition used, for that the speedy effecting of this busines is of as muche importance and no lesse desired heere then in England: that by this tyme the Earl of Bristoll will have understood how Mr. Gage was sent from Rome unto England with certain animadversions upon the articles; and that his Majestie would have beene glad to have understood yt in tyme to have procured him to have taken his journey by this Courte, that hee mighte have communicated with the Earl of Bristoll that which hee carryed, and have conferred with him about yt for the greate confidence which is held of his person, goodnes, and good intentions, which is suche that obligeth us to showe unto him in greate secrecie the same papers which by the Embassadour the Duke of Alburquerque have beene sent from Rome, to the end that having seene them and the state of things in England, hee may judge what will bee fitt to write thereupon unto the King his master, and that from hence Don Carlos de Coloma may have notice of yt. For yt is heere desired that this busines may bee proceeded in with conformitie."

And by that yt will appeare that, not only in that which concernethe that King's desire and affection to the matche, there is made profession of all sinceritie; but in that which concerned the Pope they used another kinde of stile then of later tymes they used. For in this answeare yt is sayd, that not only the Pope "may" but "ought" to dispense. And Sir Francis Cottington, who returned about this tyme into England, "can beste testifye the language

that was then used in Spayne, and the commissions which hee received from that King and his ministers to deliver unto his Majestie and the Prince, of theyr intentions to proceede to a reall and speedy conclusion of the matche, and to use all effectuall meanes to overcome the difficulties in Rome for the graunting of the dispensation.

And notwithstanding the hopes then given by these assurances in Spayne, yt will appeare by the letters of the Earl of Bristoll, then brought by Sir Francis Cottington to his Majestie and the Prince, that hee ever, in the firste place, desired that all possible speede mighte bee used for the bestowing of his Highnes, and therefore hee wrote unto his Majestie of the 13. of September 1622 as followethe:

"I shall presume to add to that which Mr. Cottington will deliver unto your Majestie by word of mouth, of the present estate of the matche, what I conceive to bee the right way to bring yt to a speedy issue: that your Majestie will bee pleased particularly to declare what you will doe in point of religion, and that you will appoint mee a certayne limited tyme by which this King should procure the dispensation or conclude the matche without yt, and in case there shall bee any further delay therein that I may then declare your Majestie to bee free and disingaged to bestowe the Prince in suche sorte as you shall judge moste convenient."

And to the Prince wrote at the same time in the subsequent words:

"That which will be necessary for his Majesties parte, is to declare himselfe how farr he will be pleased to extend in point of religion in such forme as Mr. Cottington will propound unto your Highnes, and that hee sett mee a prefixed limited tyme to breake or conclude the matche eyther with the dispensation or without yt, and for the reste yt may be left to my negotiation. But your Highnes may bee pleased to hasten this his Majesties resolution with all possible speede."

And hereupon his Majestie was pleased to send him his positive

answeare in point of religion, and to limit a certayne tyme for the procuring of the dispensation by Mr. Porter, who arrived at Madrid in November, 1622, which direction of his Majestie the Earl of Bristoll was so carefull to obey with all punctualitie that the tyme limited for the procuring of the dispensation seeming very shorte to send unto Rome, and to have an answeare from thence, for that his Majesties letters, by accident, were long upon the way, yet the Earl of Bristoll would not enlarge the tyme so muche as for a month, untill hee had firste sent unto his Majestie and received warrant under his owne hand, as will appeare by his Majesties letters of the 28. of October, 1622, as followeth :

"Righte trusty and wellbeloved cosen and counsellor.—Wee greete you hartily well. Whereas by your laste letter written to our secretary, dated the 29. of September, you are desirous to have our pleasure signifyed unto you under our owne hand, whether wee will bee contented or not to graunte one monthe longer tyme for the coming of the dispensation from Rome then wee have already limited unto you : in case they shall there conclude all things else to our contentment, with a resolution to send the Infanta hither the next spring, wee doe hereby declare unto you, that in that case you shall not breake with them for a monthe longer delay. Wee also wishe you not to trouble yourselfe with the rashe censures of other men, in case your busines should not succeede. Resting in that full assurance of our justice and wisdome, that wee will never judge a good and faythefull servant by the effect of things so contingent and variable, and with this assurance wee bidd you hartily farewell."

In obedience to this letter, the Earl of Bristoll laboured to effect all that by this letter was directed. Wherein hee insisted so farr in point of religion, and in opposing the Pope's new demand, which had beene sent unto England by Mr. Gage, as to give greate distastes to the Spanish ministers, and particularly to the Conde de Gondomar; who in greate anger tolde the Earl of Bristoll that,

allthoughe hee seemed muche to desire the Spanish matche, yet really he had beene the greatest hinderer of yt; and that hee muste not thinke to doe now as hee had donne in his former imployment, to stand stiffer in point of religion then was ordred by his instructions; and to have yt alleaged at his returne as a meritt and good service, that hee had held back part of that grace which his Majesty intended unto Catholicks; as yt had been upon his laste imployment in the report made by the Commissioners of that negotiation.

However, the Earl of Bristoll was much greived to see his Majesties service so muche betrayed. And thereupon wrote presently into England, giving notice thereof, and desiring that for the future the like mighte bee prevented.

And heerein the Earl of Bristoll appealeth unto the testimony of Sir Walter Aston, who was present at all that passed with the Conde de Gondemar and the Spanishe Commissioners, and desirethe that his dispatche of the 12. of December, 1622, sent by Mr. Porter, may bee produced; for that, as hee was present at all the debates of the busines, so hee conceiveth hee gave an account of that which passed.

And as for the Pope's new demaunds, yt will appeare by his severall dispatches to his Majestie, that the Earl of Bristoll held them unreasonable, and tolde the Spanish ministers that hee conceived that, if they insisted upon them, that the busines was at an end, as will appeare likewise by his despatches bearing date[1]
and thereupon laboured by all possible meanes to bring them to content themselves with that which his Majestie had condescended unto, without any alterations or additions. The which, although hee did in matter of substance, and that there was no essential difference, yet not being punctually the same (differing rather in forme then otherwise) which his Majestie had prescribed by a paper of introduction, bearing date the 9th of September, under his owne

[1] Sentence left unfinished in MS.

hand, the Earl of Bristoll would not accept of them but only *de bene esse*, for the procuring of the dispensation, until hee mighte firste make his Majestie acquainted with the alteration and receive his approbation; and thereupon was Mr. Porter dispatched the 12. of December 1622, and carryed with him the answeare which was given to the Earl of Bristol by the King of Spaynes order in writing, the 12. of December 1622, which was *verbatim* in that which followethe:

" Lo que su Magesdad Catholica, &c. That which his Catholick Majestie hathe commaunded to bee given in answeare to the Earl of Bristoll, Extraordinary Embassador for the King of Greate Brittayne, touching the marriage now in treaty is this that insuethe: That his Majestie hathe given orders that his resolution bee delivered unto him in writing, and therein (as the Earl of Bristoll himselfe hathe seene) hathe indeavoured what hee may to conforme himselfe with that which the King of Greate Brittayne hathe answeared unto the Pope's propositions, so desirous hathe his Majestie beene from the beginning to overcome all difficulties that mighte hinder this union. That bothe heere and at Rome hee hathe not slacked to use all possible care to facilitate yt, and will so continewe untill the conclusion; and at this present (according to what is agreed with the foresayd Earle) a poste (to goe and returne with speede) is dispatched to Rome, to the end that his Holynes, judging what is agreed upon sufficient (as heere yt is held to bee) may graunt the dispensation; and in the interim, while the Pope send yt (the which his Majestie will procure before the end of Marche, or of Aprill at the farthest) the remayning temporall articles shall bee treated and concluded, to the end that no tyme bee loste. But the Infanta, immediately after the graunting of the dispensation, bee delivered the next spring, as is the intention of his Majestie."

And in this answeare the Earl of Bristoll desirethe that foure things may be considered—

1. Firste that the King of Spayne is not only confident that upon the articles agreed upon the Pope would dispense; but declarethe

that in Spayne the sayd articles are held sufficient for the procuring of the dispensation.

2. Secondly, Hee limiteth a certayne tyme for the procuring of yt, vizt., in Marche or Aprill at the farthest.

Thirdly, Hee dothe not only declare yt to bee his intention, but promisethe the deliverie of his sister at the spring.

Fourthly, Hee capitulateth, that in the interim all temporall articles shall bee settled, and all fitting preparation made ready.

And the Earl of Bristoll having procured this positive answeare in writing, sendethe yt unto his Majestie and the Prince, and accompanyethe yt with his owne letters bearing date the 26. of December 1622, in which hee writethe unto his Majestie as followethe:

"This is the true estate of the busines, as yt now standethe; yf your Majestie approve of what is donne, I hope it will have a happy and shorte conclusion. Yf your Majestie thinkethe yt not fitt to condescend and allow of these articles, I have donne the uttmoste of my indevours, and shall humbly perswade your Majestie not to loose a day longer in the treaty, so muche yt importethe your Majestie and your kingdomes that the Prince were bestowed."

And to the Prince in letters of the like date, in this sorte:

"I presume now to write unto his Majesty that which I thinke my duty to say likewise unto your Highnes, that in case you shall not approve of what is now conditionally agreed, you permitt not a day more to bee loste in this treaty. For yt is of so greate consequence that your Highnes were bestowed, that yt importethe allmoste as much that you were speedily as fittingly marryed. But I hope that his Majestie and your Highnes will in suche sorte approve of this laste agreement, as you will speedily bring this long treaty to a happy conclusion. For you may be pleased in your wisdomes to consider that yt is impossible in so greate a busines, and whereby so many goods may be expected, but that yt should not bee accompanyed with some things of hard digestion. I am out of hope of bringing things to any better tearmes, and therefore I deale clearly

with your Highnes, and doe not only moste humbly perswade, but on my knees beg that of you, that you eyther resolve to conclude this matche as you may, or speedily to breake, and to bestowe yourselfe elsewhere, for no lesse than the happines of your kingdomes and the securitie of the King your father and selfe depend upon yt."

And these were the laste letters of any moment that the Earl of Bristoll wrote to the King or Prince before his Highnes departure out of England towards Spayne. So that yf yt shall be considered from the Earl of Bristoll's first letters[1] of July, to these his laste, hee wondrethe where those delayes and intertaynments will bee found wherewith the Earl of Bristoll hathe beene charged.

And according to this answeare the Earl of Bristoll did settle all the temporall articles in Spayne in suche sorte as all things mighte punctually have beene perfourmed in conformitie of this agreement, vizt., that the portion should bee that which appeared to have beene agreed unto by this King's father; that the person that should attend the Infanta into England should bee Don Duarte of Portugall; that the *desposorios per verba de præsente* should bee perfourmed within twenty dayes after the arrivall of the dispensation at Madrid.

That the Infanta's journey towards England should bee within twenty dayes after that; which forty dayes were condescended unto, to the end that yf there should have beene any clogg in the dispensation, and that yt should not have beene cleare, they might have had forty dayes to have sent and gotten answeare from Rome. For the Earl of Bristoll solemnly protested that yf that tyme were exceeded hee would dissolve the treaty and presently returne.

For the porte where the Infanta was to take shipping, yt was reserved to his Majesties choyse, whether yt should bee Lisbonne, San Andera, or the Groyne; and to this purpose was Gresley dispatched into England, to knowe his Majesties pleasure, and to move his Majestie that all fitting preparations mighte bee likewise

[1] Blank in MS.

made in England; and as hee entred into France with the dispatches, hee mett with the Prince and my Lord Duke of Buckinghame, who were pleased to open all his letters, and found in the sayd dispatches the above specified particulars contayned: and in this disposition was this greate affayre when they entred into Madrid, which was the 7th of Marche, *stilo Angliæ*, 1622. And all that is heere contayned in this discourse, eyther of matter of hope or assurances, was there made good, and muche more unto them *viva voce* by the King of Spayne, and Conde de Olivares and Gondemar. Insomuche that the Prince publickly tolde the Earl of Bristoll that hee would acquitt him of all the hopes hee had given, and was pleased to write so muche unto his Majestie, and to give him leave to write likewise himselfe to the same effect, the Prince and the Duke having seene the Earl of Bristoll's letter of the 10. of Marche, before hee sent yt unto his Majestie, in which hee writethe, that "there passed in Spayne suche an expression of joy, and so greate declaration of gratefull acceptation of this action, as I dare confidently say unto your Majestie, that whatsoever I have formerly written of theyr professions, hathe now beene by many degrees exceeded; as I doubt not but your Majestie will perceive from my Lord of Buckinghames pen."

And the Earl of Bristoll remembrethe that on Sunday the 9th of Marche, being the third day after the Prince his arrivall at Madrid, the Prince going abroad in a coache to see the King, Queene, and Infanta, hee was attended in the coache by the Duke of Buckinghame, the Conde de Olivares, the Conde de Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, and the Earl of Bristoll; where the Conde de Gondemar, muche magnifying the honor which the Prince had donne Spayne by this journey, asked the Conde de Olivares whether the King his master and hee would not avowe him to bee an honest man, by making good all the hopes and promises hee made unto the King of Greate Brittayne of theyr reall and sincere desiring of the matche in Spayne, and that the Conde de Bristoll was an honest man to; and that the Prince should finde in effect all that hee had written

to the King his master. The Conde de Olivares made answeare that they mighte bothe of them say theyr *Nunc dimittis*, and trouble themselves no farther, but to expect honor and reward from theyr masters for theyr service in having brought businesses unto those tearmes they were now.

For the King his master and the Prince being mett, and the Admirall[1] and hee, the one having that interest in the King of Greate Brittayne and the Prince his favour, and himselfe in his master's, and the busines so well disposed to theyr hands by the two Condes' care and industrie, yf they did not make bothe a marriage and perfect amitie and frendshipp, they would acquitt and discharge the Condes of Gondemar and Bristoll, and would bee content that the two favorites should beare the blame.

[1] Buckingham.

II.—The Earle of Bristol's Answere unto a Paper of Propositions sent unto him by the Duke of Buckingham, the 2d of Febr. 1624.[1]

The Earl of Bristol willingly accknowledgeth that in former tymes hee hath had many obligations unto the Duke of Buckingham, and if in the carriadge of the Spanish businesse the Earl of Bristol hath done any thing that hath bene distastfull unto his Grace, it meerly proceeded out of his zeale to his Majesties service, when hee thought that other courses or other councells would more have conduced to his Majesties endes then those which the Duke poursued; but not through wante of dew respect unto his Grace's person; and as hee freely accknowledgeth past favours, so will hee omitt nothing on his parte for the regaining of his Grace's love and good opinion for the future, that may bee done without blemishing his honor or wronging his innocencye; and so, hoping that his Grace will accept of this affectionate and humble seeking of him, the Earl of Bristoll offereth to his Grace the following answers to those propositions which hee receaved in writing from him this 2. of Feb. 1624, to the ende that his Grace, beeing by them fully satisfyed of the Earl's innocencye (as hee is confident his Grace or any man else willbee that shall read the sayde answers), his Grace may with the more readinesse and efficacye imploye[1] his power for reconciling of the sayd Earl unto his Majesties and the Prince's favours, when he shall see him an innocent man, as well as desirous for the future to bee his Grace's humble servant and friend.

[1] 1625, N.S. The heading only and a few interlineations are in Bristol's own hand.

[2] "I imploye" MS.

The First Proposition.

That the Earl of Bristol did accept and continew the treaty in generall tearmes so long without reducing them punctually to particulars, as by them tyme was lost, and the Spanish ministers tooke occasion to abuse his Majestie, for which the Earl is sorrye.

Answer.

In this first proposition the Earl of Bristol craveth leave to answer to three particulars: first, that he did not continew the treaty in generall tearmes one day longer than necessitye inforced; secondly, that if tyme were lost, and the treaty reduced to great length, it was by other accidents, as the death of the King of Spayne, and of two Popes, ettc. but by no fault of the Earl of Bristol's; thirdly, that if the Spanish ministers did abuse his Majestie at that tyme, as it seemes is supposed, which the Earl knoweth not, yet ther could no greater assurances passe betwixt States then hee receaved from Spayne of thier reall intentions, which hee trewly represented to his Majestie, and it seemeth that his Majestie, the Prince, the Duke, and all the Commissioners gave as much beliefe unto them then as the Earl of Bristol did. As for the first pointe, that the Earl should continew the treaty uppon generallityes, hee sayth that hee doubteth not but his Majestie and the Lords Commissioners well remember that his directions were not to setle nor treat the temporall articles untill such tyme as the articles of religion were fully agreed of, for that it was held most proper and honorable for both sides first to see if the difficultyes of religion might bee reconciled before they passed to any further engagements. Now the sayde articles of religion by reason of the Pope's new demaunds sent unto England by Mr. Gage were not signed nor condiscended unto by his Majestie nor the Prince untill the 5th day of Jan. 1622, and then were sent away

post by Mr. Symon Digbie, who arrived at Madrid about the 25th of the same moneth. But the Earl of Bristol's care was such to have no tyme lost in the setling of the temporal articles that, before hee would condiscend only *de bene esse* unto the articles of religion, and that they should bee sent backe agayne unto Rome, hee procured the King of Spayne to promis that within the tyme limited for the procuring of the dispensation, which was by March or Aprill at the furthest, all the temporall articles should bee setled and agreed, to the end that the Infanta might be delivered at the spring, as by the sayde answer in writing was declared to bee that Kinges intention; and accordingly Sir Walter Aston and the Earl of Bristol did, not in the generall, but most industriously labour with all particuler articles, as they did most of them, videlicet, that the portion should bee two millions, it appearing it was so agreed by this Kinges father; that, the dispensation comming, the *desposorios* should bee within 40 dayes after, and the Infanta's departure from Madrid should bee within 20 dayes after that; that Don Duarte of Portugal should bee the man that should attend the Infanta in the journey; and all other particulers necessarye for the conclusion of the sayde treaty were by Sir Walter Aston and the Earl of Bristol and the Spanish Commissioners drawne upp into heads in writing, and after many debates they were consulted with that King, and the 2. of March *stilo vet.* the Conde of Gondomar and the Secretary Don Andreas de Prada came home to the house of the sayd Earl of Bristol to signifye unto Sir Walter Aston and himselfe, as they did, that the King had declared his resolution in all the particulers, and given them order to come to a speedy conclusion with them of all thinges; and that the Kinges answer to the sayde Consulta the Earl of Bristol saw and read all written with the King of Spaynes owne hand.

On the 7th of March his Highness and my Lord Duke of Buckingham arrived at Madrid, and then the Spaniards tooke new hopes, and the negotiation was putt into a new forme; so that when it is objected against the Earl of Bristol that he entertayned and

continewed the treaty so long uppon generallyties, that certainly cannot bee meant of the spirituall articles, for they were such as were sent from Rome to England, and from thence they came to the Earl of Bristol; and for the temporall articles, they not beeing to bee setled or treated till the articles of religion were concluded, certainly it cannot bee alleaged with any coulour that in them his Majestie was intertayned with generallityes; since from the tyme that the sayde articles of religion were brought unto the Earl of Bristol by Mr. Symon Digbie, beeing the 25th of Jan., ther were but nine weekes untill the 7th of March, when the Prince arrived, and in the interim all the above specifyed particulers were setled.

2ndly. That the tyme that hath bene lost in this treaty hath not bene through the Earl of Bristol's fault.

And for as much as it is pretended that much tyme hath bene spent in this treaty, it is very trew; but that hath bene by the difficultyes which the businesse brought with it, as likewise by exteriour accidents, as the warres of Bohemia, the death of two Popes, and the King of Spayne, without the least fault of the Earl of Bristol, who was ever so desirous to see the Prince bestowed, that hee pressed nothing so much both to the King and Prince, as that the Prince might loose no more tyme, but rather breake the matche with Spayne then suffer any further delayes, as will appeare by his dispatches from his first arrivall at the Court of Spayne untill the Prince's coming; for, in his letters of the 28th of Jun[e], beeing the first that the Earl of Bristol wrote after his first audience, hee was so desirous that no tyme might bee lost, that in them hee craveth leave of his Majestie, that in case hee should finde any delayes in Spayne, hee might, without expecting any new order, take his leave and come home. And uppon the returne of Sir Frauncis Cottington in Septem[ber] following, hee writeth both to the King and Prince as followeth:—

"I shall presume to add to that which Mr. Cottington will deliver unto your Majestie by word of mouth of the present estate

of the matche, what I conceave to bee the right way to bring it to a speedy issue, that your Majestie wilbee pleased possitively to declare what you will doe in point of religion, and that you will appoynt mee a certeyne limited tyme by which this King should procure the dispensation, or conclude the matche without it, and, in case ther shallbee any further delay therin, that I may then declare your Majestie to bee free and desengaged to bestowe the Prince in such sorte as you shall judge most convenient."

And to the Prince, at the same tyme, hee wrote in the subsequent wordes:—

"That which willbee necessary for his Majestie presently to doe on his Majesties parte, is to declare himselfe how farr hee wilbee pleased to extend, in pointe of religion, in such forme as Mr. Cottington will propound unto your Highness, and that hee sett mee a prefixed limited tyme to breake or conclude the match, either with the dispensation or without it; and for the rest, it may bee left to my negotiation. But your Highness may bee pleased to hasten this his Majesties resolution with all possible speede."

And having receaved from his Majestie his resolution in point of religion, and a limited tyme according to his desyre, the Earl of Bristol was so precise and punctuall therein, that, although the making or breaking of the marriadge depended uppon it, hee would not give one moneth's longer tyme for the procuring of the dispensation untill hee had first acquainted his Majestie therewith, and receaved his direction under his owne hande, as will appeare by his Majesties letter of the 15th of October, 1622, as followeth:—

"Right trustie and welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, wee greete you hartily well. Whereas by your last letter written to our secretary, dated the 29 of September, you are desirous to have our pleasure signified unto you under our owne hand, whether wee will bee contented or not to graunte a moneth longer tyme for the sending of the dispensation from Rome than wee have allready limited unto you, in case they shall their conclude all thinges else to our contentment, with a resolution to send the Infanta hither the

next spring, wee doe hereby declare unto you that, in that case, you shall not breake with them for a moneth's longer delay; wee also wishe you not to trouble yourselfe with the rashe censure of other men, in case our businesse should not succeede, resting in that full assurance of our justice and wisedome, that wee will never judge a good and faythfull servant by the effects of thinges so contingent and variable. And with this assurance wee bidd you hartily farewell."

And when the Earl of Bristol had agreed unto the articles in religion, and that a settled tyme was appointed for the comming of the dispensation, and a conclusion of the match, and that hee would bynde himselfe to nothing without his Majesties approbation, yet, for that no tyme might bee lost, he agreed to the propositions *de bene esse*, to the end the articles might bee sent immediately to Rome, without loosing so much tyme as to hear first from England, and humbly moved that, in case his Majestie should approve of the articles, hee would send his approbation directly to Rome, for the gayning of tyme, which his Majestie was pleased to doe. And at the same tyme hee wrote both to his Majestie and the Prince in his lettres of the 10th of Decem[ber], 1622, as followeth :—

" This is the trew estate of the businesse, as it now standeth. Yf your Majestie approve of what is done I hope it will have a happy and short conclusion. Yf your Majestie thinketh it not fitt to condiscend and allowe of these articles, I have done the uttmost of my endeavours, and shall humbly perswade your Majestie not to loose a day longer in the treaty, so much it importeth your Majestie and your kingdomes that the Prince were bestowed."

And to the Prince, in letters of the like date, in this sorte :—

" I presume now to write unto his Majestie that which I thinke my duty to say likewise unto your Highness, that in case you shall not approve of what is now conditionally agreed, you permitt not a day more to be lost in this treaty, for it is of so great consequence that your Highness were bestowed, that it importeth almost as much

that you were speedily as fittingly matched. But I hope that his Majestie and your Highness will in such sorte approve of this last agreement, as you will speedily bring this long treaty to a happy conclusion. For you may bee pleased in your wisedomes to consider that it is impossible in so great a businesse, and whereby so many goods may bee expected, but that it should bee accompanyed with some thinges of hard digestion. I am out of hope of bringing thinges to any better tearmes, and therefore I deale clearly with your Highness, and doe not only moste humbly perswade, but on my knees begg that of you, that you either resolve to conclude the matche as you may, or speedily to breake it, and to bestowe yourselfe elsewhere. For no lesse then the happinesse of your kingdomes, and the security of the Kinge your father and selfe, depend uppon it."

All which thinges being equally considered, the Earl of Bristol willingly submitteth himself to any censure, whether those delayes which severall accidents have brought forth in this businesse can be attributed to his default, since, on the one side, it is apparent that hee ever moved his Majestie and the Prince to admitt of no delayes, but rather to thinke of some other course ; and, on the other side, it will appeare by all his dispatches that hee pressed thinges with the ministers of Spayne to as speedy a conclusion as the utmost tearmes of fayre negotiation or good manners would beare.

3rdly. Howsoever it may be supposed that the Spaniards abused the King, yet the Earl of Bristol did all thinges belonging to a faythfull and vigilant minister.

And whereas it is pretended that the Spaniards should hereby take occasion to abuse his Majestie, the Earl of Bristol sayth that he used all the industry and vigilancy that a carefull minister could doe, and had from the Spaniards all the assurances by oathes, wordes, and writing, which could be expected from Christians, the which hee faythfully, without adding or deminishing, represented unto his Majestie ; and his Majestie in those tymes was pleased to conceave uppon those assurances that they dealt really with him, and hee

conceaveth the Prince and the Duke were pleased to write as much unto the King at thier first comming to Madrid, and if since his Majestie hath just reason to conceave the contrary, his Majestie hath the juster ground of quarrell. But the Earl of Bristol confesseth that he was so confident that the Spaniards did then meane honestly, and intended to performe all that was agreed, that he bestowed a great summ of money in his preparations; and, although hee was not furnished with any moneyes out of the Exchequer, yet, because hee would bee sure to bee in a readinesse, hee returned twelve thousand pownds in monye out of his owne private estate for the expence of his journey, so confident was hee that all would have bin really performed; and he conceaveth that if his dispatches may bee perused, it will appeare that hee served his Majestie with some measure of vigilancy as well as fidelitye.

The Second Proposition.

That in the treaty for restitution of the Palatinate hee, the Earl of Bristol, hath never made mention, nor comprised in any article, the restitution of the person of the Prince Palatine, or at least gave no satisfaction to the Prince, when the Conde of Olivares tould him he understood it soe.

Answere.

To this proposition the Earl of Bristol sayth that in the treaty for the restitution of the Palatinate, both with the Archduke, the Emperor, and afterward with Spayne, hee did ever mention the individuall person of the Prince Palatine, and further sayth, that hee never would so much as admitt of any proposition that comprised not the sayd personall restitution, which will appeare by all his dispatches, and by his memorialls in writing, which, as hee delivered to the ministers of Spayne, so hee still sent trew coppyes of them to his Majestie, the which hee assureth himselfe remayne in the custody of some of his Majesties Secretaries; and although the producing of

them alone would fully cleare this pointe, yet, for the shewing with what zeale and industry hee hath served his Majestie and the Prince Palatine in this business, he craveth leave to answer it more particularly by setting downe how hee hath carryed himselfe in this business.

Presently, after his arrivall at the Court of Spayne, the Earl of Bristol made unto that King this proposition, which is heere sett downe verbatim:—

The Earl of Bristol's first proposition unto the King of Spayne for the restitution of the Prince Palatine, in writing.

That his Catholique Majestie willbee pleased to bee the meanes unto the Emperour that hee may receave the Count Palatine into his favour and grace, and to restore him unto his titles, landes, and dignitves in the manner as he held them before hee did putt himselfe unto the businesse of Bohemia, the King of Great Brittaine taking to his charge to reduce the sayde Count Palatine to dew obedience to the Emperour; and that hee shall doe all that shallbee just and reasonable for the satisfaction of his Emperiall Majestie.

And this proposition after a carefull debate of the present estate of that businesse was made by the advise of Sir Walter Aston and Sir Frauncis Cottington, as judging it fitt by engaging that King to an intyre restitution of the Prince Palatine to secure the mayne ground of the businesse, which was done accordingly, as will clearly appeare by the Earl of Bristol's dispatch unto Mr. Secretarie Calvert, bearing date the 9th of August, 1622. Afterward hee moved and negotiated uppon every particuler occasion, according as the nature of each accident requiried, wherin hee doubteth not but it will playnely appear how vigilant and carefull hee was to lay hold of all occasions that might advaunce this businesse; both in the tyme of Don Baltazar de Zuniga, and afterward with the Conde de Olivares, whome hee procured in the moneth of October, 1622, in the presence of the Conde de Gondomar and Sir Walter Aston to promise that

the Kinge should procure his Majesties intyre satisfaction, and, rather then fayle, hee should doe it by his armes ; and this, whatsoever may bee sayde that the Conde de Olivares may since have whispered, shall bee proved undeniably ; and was confirmed twice out of that Kinges owne mouth, as will appeare, as well by the dispatches of Sir Walter Aston of the 12th of December, 1622, as by those of the Earl of Bristol's,[1] within few days after that that King and the Conde de Olivares had made this promise of assisting with thier armes, if neede were, the newes came to Madrid of taking of Hidelberg, whereof the Earl of Bristol complayned sharpely to the Conde de Olivares, and desired present order for the saving of Manham and Franquendale,[2] which the Conde de Olivares promised him, and sent him that Kinges letters of as effectuall and earnest mediation to the Emperour, Duke of Bavaria, and the Infanta, as could be written. But the Earl of Bristol would not accept of them nor send them away, but protested unto the Spanish ministers, and particulerly unto the Conde de Olivares (betwixt whom and the Earl of Bristol ther grew theruppon a great contestation), that hee would not accept of any thing lesse then what had bin so lately promised by that King and himselfe, which was, that if mediation tooke not place, that King would imploy his armes in his Majesties assistance ; and the Earl of Bristol prevayled so farr that hee gott that Kinges order, by his letters bearing date the 29th of October, 1622, that in case that the Emperour or Duke of Bavaria would not forbeare those townes wherin his Majestie had his garrisons, that the King of Spaynes forces in the Palatinate should be imployed in thier assistance, and that they should not suffer any wrong to bee done them by any other whatsoever ; and these letters the Earl of Bristol sent away presently to Brussells by Mr. Gresley, and his Majestie is pleased in his letters of the 24th of November, 1622, to write of them as followeth:—" That howsoever the order given for the reliefe of Manham arrived to late, and after the town was yeelded into the handes of Tilly, yett wee must acknowledg it to bee a good effect

[1] Marginal note, " A new section."

[2] Mannheim and Frankenthal.

of your negotiation, and an argument of that Kinges sincere and sound intentions." So just was his Majestie then, and so the Earl of Bristol knoweth his Majestie will ever bee, to judge of his ministers by their fidelitye and industry, and not by the successe of thinges depending uppon accident or other mens faults. One thing further the Earl of Bristol desireth may be observed in this letter of the King of Spaynes, videlc., that in writing as well as by word of mouth, that promis which the Conde de Olivares made of assisting by armes, if neede required, is made good so farr as to make it apparent that it was so promised, and order procured by the Earl of Bristol for the performing of it accordingly; but why it hath not bene performed, that remayneth betwixt the two Kinges, the one to shew the accident or just reasons that hindred the performance, the other to resent it in such sorte as hee shall judge fitting if hee receave not just satisfaction. Afterward the Earl of Bristol pressing the Conde de Olivares and the Spanish ministers to some finall resolution, it is trew hee found them growe colder, and to answer much with recrimination of the Prince Palatine's behaviour, as his going into Alzatia, his taking prisoner the Landgrave of Darmstate, &c., wheruppon the Earl of Bristol wrote unto his Majestie in his letters of the 12th of December, that hee found them now to answer so farr shorte of what hee was directed to require by his Majesties letters of the 3rd of October, that hee would presently have left the court, if hee had not bene expressly commanded the contrary by his Majesties letters of the 14th of October, 1622, ordering him that what answer soever hee should receave that hee should not come away untill hee had first sent it unto his Majestie and receaved new directions from him; wheruppon his Majesty, having by the above specifyed dispatch of the 12th of December seene the trew estate of the businesse, and how the Earl of Bristol had proceeded, it is not probable that his Majestie would so farr have approved the Earl's proceedinges, if hee had, contrary to his instructions, omitted the person of the Prince Palatine, as his Majestie was pleased to doe in his letters of the 7th of January, 1622, in which he writeth as

followethe:—" Concerning that other unfortunate knotty affayre of the Palatinate, to say the trewth, as thinges stand, wee cannot tell what you could have done more then you have done allready."

The letters last mentioned of his Majestie beare date the 7th of January, and uppon the 7th of March next following the Prince and the Duke arrived at Madrid, wher it seemeth they found the ministers of Spayne well prepared in the treaty of the Palatinate; for they tolde them that, in the businesse of the Palatinate, the Kinge of Spayne should give his Majestie a blanke wherin to frame his owne conditions, as will appeare by his Majesties letters written after the Prince's returne into Englande unto the Earl the 8th of October 1623, in which hee writeth as followeth: " Wee must remember you as a ground to worke uppon, that our sonn did write unto us out of Spayne that that Kinge would give us a blanke in which wee might frame our owne conditions concerning the Palatinate, and the same our sonn confirmeth to us now." If afterwards the Spaniards altered ther language and manner of treating both in that and other thinges, whersoere the fault was, God knoweth the Earl of Bristol deserveth no parte of the blame of it. Sure hee is that the Spanish ministers, at thier first comming, gave so great assurances of thier reall intention to procure his Majestie intyre satisfaction that the Earl of Bristol moved the Duke to begin to treat that businesse in the interim, whilest the dispensation came from Rome; but the Duke answered that it was fitter to bee left to the negotiation of ambassadors, for that they came thether, meaning the Prince and himselfe, to woe and make love, and not to make warr; wheruppon all further treaty or speeche of the Palatin was layde aside untill a litle before the Prince's departure, for which the Earl conceaveth the Duke had his Majesties speciall order. For his Majestie (judging the matche to bee fully ended and concluded) commanded then the Duke and the Earl of Bristol to assume and revyve agayne the businesse of the Palatinate, as will appeare by his Majesties letters of the 23 of July 1623, directed jointly to the Duke and the Earl of Bristol, in which his Majestie is pleased to write as followeth:—

"Right trustye and right well beloved cousins and councellors, &c. Having now brought the mayne and principall businesse, which is the matche of our sonne, to a happy conclusion, as wee have lately understoode both from himselfe and by your dispatches, ther resteth two other perticulers of great importance, as you knowe; the one wherof is publique, namely, the restitution of our sonne in law and his posteritye to the Palatinate and dignity Electorall, the other private.[1] Wee have thought fitt at this tyme to give you authoritye by this letter under our hand and signett, as hereby wee doe give you full authority and commission joyntly and severally, to proceede to the treaty of both those perticulers afore mencioned."

Further, it was the ordinary protestation of the Earl of Bristol to all the Spanish ministers that, although the matche with Spayne should bee concluded, yet it would bee impossible to continew peace betwixt the crownes of England and Spayne three moneths unlesse the Prince Palatine were restored both to his estates and dignityes, and hee ever publikely professed that, as great a friend as hee was to the matche, hee would bee the first that should advise his Majestie to a warr with Spayne in case it were not so; and during the tyme that he treated the businesse, the King of Spayne did publikely oppose the transferring of the Electorate uppon the Duke of Bavaria, although afterward, the state of thinges beeing changed, and the Spaniards hoping by the advantage which they had to mend thier conditions in all thinges they treated, it is trew that the Conde de Olivares moved that the Electorate might bee restored to the Prince Palatine's sonn, and not to himselfe; but the Earl of Bristol well remembreth that, as farr as with good manners hee might, hee playnely protested against it, and that very night that this had bene moved, hee wrote a paper of reasons showing that without the restitution of the Prince Palatine's individuall person the businesse was rendered impossible and untreatable. And the next morning hee brought the same paper and shewed it unto his

[1] The other was a scheme for a joint attack upon the Dutch.

Highness, the which, because hee is fully perswaded that any man that shall read the sayd paper will never retayne any further doubt concerning the pointe, hee thinketh it fitt to insert the sayde paper here:—

" 1°. That all the commissions and instructions that the Earl of Bristol hath for to treat the accomodation of the businesse of the Prince Palatine doe command precisely that hee should treat of the restoring of the Prince Palatine's individuall person, so that hee hath no order nor power to treat in any other kinde.

" 2°. That the Earl of Bristol well knoweth that the King his master is engaged by word and writing to procure to the Prince Palatine the restitution both of his patrimoniall estates and honors, or to aide him with all his forces, though it were to putt to adventure his kingdomes.

" 3. That hee that is to give these powers for the accomodation of the businesse is the Prince Palatine, and all that the King his master can treat must bee in his name, since that it is hee who is to putt all in execution, and hee that must make the submissions and all the rest, and it cannot bee imagined that hee should give his powers for the exclusion of himself.

" 4. That it is not likely that either the Prince Palatine or the Princesse his wife will ever give thier consent for the bestowing of thier sonn, if therby they are to remayne themselves deprived of thier honors or estates.

" 5. That, if ther bee any intention finally to end this businesse by way of peace and allyance, it willbee requisite to oblige entirely the Prince Palatine in such sorte that not only hee may bee reduced to the obedience of the Emperour, but that hee may remayne much obliged for the favour that hee hath receaved from the House of Austria, and particulerly from the King of Spayne, and that hee may bee ther trew friend, herafter beeing tyed therunto by ther obligations, and the King of Great Brittaine will procure that this may bee so, and the Prince Palatine may show it presently with effects.

"6. That against the Duke of Bavaria ther is no opposition made on the King of Great Brittaines part, but that the Pope and the Emperour may give him the recompences and titles that they shallbee pleased, by way of an Electorate, Archdukedome, or title of King, if they will, so that they doe not give that which is not their owne, and that which belongeth to the sonn in law of the King his master.

"7. That the opinion of the Earl of Bristol is that, since by way of allyance it is hoped that this businesse shallbee ended, it beeing presupposed that the Prince Palatine will reduce himselfe unto the accknowledgment of the grace and favour that hee receaveth from the House of Austria, and therby will allwayes bee tyed to remayne thankefull and obliged, the right way willbee not to leave any roote or braunch of discontent, but that his imperial Majestie will make his favour compleat, and that, with the allyances which are hoped will follow betwixt the King of Great Brittaine and the House of Austria, ther bee made an absolute forgettfullnesse of all that is past, that friendshipp and confederation bee in such sorte setled betwixt them, that therby those goods and benefitts may bee attayned which are expected from this union."

A coppye of this paper the Earl of Bristol sent likewise unto his Majestie, and hee is pleased to take notice of it by his letters of the 8th of October, writing as followeth: "Now wee must remember you that that wee ever understoode and expected that uppon the marriadge of our sonne with the Infanta wee should have a cleere restitution of the Palatinate and Electoral dignitye to our sonne in lawe, to bee really procured by that King according to the obligation of our honor, as you have well exprest in your reasons why the person of our sonne in lawe should not bee left out of the treaty." And this letter is all written with Mr. Secretary Conwayes owne hande, and signed by his Majestie, so that it appearing by the Earl of Bristol's dispatches, by his memorialls in writing, by his Majesties owne accknowledgment, that the Earl of Bristol did mention and compriz the restitution of the Prince Palatine's person, and

the accknowledgment that is required from the sayd Earl being directly contrary therunto, besides that it were to make him guilty of a most foule cryme to have omitted one of the chiefe points of his instructions, the Earle referreth it to the Duke's own noblenesse how much infamy[1] he should incurr, if for any earthly respect whatsoever hee should bee so base as to betray his owne innocencye by making any such accknowledgment.

Third Proposition.

That when it was required that the breeding of the Prince Palatine's eldest sonn might bee with the Emperour, the Earl of Bristol gave advise and consent unto it, and the consideration of the change of his religion being propounded, the Earl of Bristol declared his opinion that without some such great thing the peace of Christendom could not bee had.[2]

Answer.

The Earl of Bristol sayth hee never gave any such advise nor consent that the Prince Palatine's sonn should bee bredd with the Emperour; but it is trew that, when the matche for the Prince Palatine's sonn with the Emperour's daughter was propounded as

[1] "infancy" in MS.

[2] That Bristol did not use these words with respect to the young Prince's change of religion is shown, I think, by a paper calendared by Mrs. Green (S. P. Dom. clxxx. 102) as "Points on which the Earl of Bristol's proceedings were examined." In reality there is no evidence that Bristol was ever examined upon them at all. It consists of notes, drawn up by some one who had been in Spain, of Bristol's conduct, and the language is such as to leave no doubt in my mind that it proceeded from Buckingham himself. If this is the case, the following extract shows that Buckingham, at some time or other, gave an account of the conversation substantially agreeing with that now given by Bristol, as he represented the conversion of the Prince not as having been mentioned by Bristol, but merely as a consequence drawn in his own mind from Bristol's language about the boy's education:—"That when they began to presse new conditions upon us, as the breedinge of the King's grandchild in the Emperour's Courte, which *implyed a conversion*, hee liked of it, and, when the Prince said he had rather breake the match then satisfye them in that pointe, he answered that, without some such greate matter, the busines would never be brought to passe."

the best means to accommodate those great differences, and was so judged likewise by his Majestie. as hee conceaveth will appeare by many severall orders and letters, hee did by way of debate and consultation of the businesse honestly and faythfully body those reasons which were alleaged by the Spanish ministers why the Emperour should expect to have the breeding of the Prince Palatine's sonn, vidlt. that, although the Prince Palatine should then have bene at the height of his fortunes, yet they sayd it could bee no disparagement to his sonn to match with the Emperour's daughter, but now the Prince Palatine, having justly offended the Emperour, and being under the Imperial bann and devested of his estates and honors, the which the Emperour was, out of his grace, to restore, they thought it would appeare reasonable to all the world that the Emperour should seeke to secure himselfe for the future of the Prince Palatine's behaviour, especially when hee sought to doe it by so fayre and honorable a way as not by barely craving the Prince Palatine's sonn as an hostage, as hath bene usuall in like cases, but by making of him his sonn in law and marrying of him to his daughter. These reasons the Earl of Bristol sayth, and divers others he conceaveth, hee hath represented unto the King and Prince; but that hee ever gave any consent as that, by any act or article, hee hath any way obliged his Majestie that the Prince Palatine's sonn should bee bredd with the Emperour, hee is assured it cann never bee made appeare; but hee sayth that in case, uppon the above specified reasons, hee should have delivered his humble opinion and advise unto the King and Prince according to the best of his understanding, hee conceaveth hee had comitted no fault at all, although hee had erred in judgment, but had honestly performed the dewty of a councellor, according to the oath hee had taken, who are ever tyed to fidelitye, but are not allwayes exempt from errour.

And wheras it is sayde that, when the consideration of the change of religion was propounded, the Earl of Bristol declared his opinion that without some such great thing the peace of Christendome could not bee had, the Earl of Bristol sayth that ther was never any such

thing propounded to him, neither did he ever declare any such opinion, for if any such proposition should have bene made hee should have rejected it with indignation; but hee ever tolde the Conde de Olivares that, in case his Majestie should condiscend that the Prince Palatine's sonn should bee bredd with the Emperour, it was with presupposition that hee should have a familye and such preceptors for his education as his father and his Majestie should appointe. It is trew that in the debate of this matche and the present estate of the affayres of Christendome, both to his Majestie and the Prince hee hath written and sayd that it was not to bee thought that the peace of Christendome could bee restored, and they attayne so many advantages, but that they must likewise on ther part condiscend to some thinges of hard digestion, for that so great differences could never be accomodated but by a reciprocall yeilding of both sides; but this could never have any relation or bee understood of anything that concerned religion.

And as for the inference that is made that the breeding of the Prince Palatine's sonn in the Emperor's Court should implye his conversion, hee cannot but marvayle to see it further insisted uppon, having so fully answered it in his answer to the 2. interrogatorye, by which it appeareth that in the Emperour's Court all princes, although they are vassayles of the Empyre—some his prisoners, others his counsellors, and servants nere about his person—have the free use of ther religion; and it is not to bee supposed that the sonn of the Prince Palatine and grandchilde to the Kinge of Great Brittaine should bee matched and no care had to capitulate the free use of his religion, beeing ever graunted to the meanest princesse that is bestowed. Hee knoweth not what others might have done, but hee is certayne that, if the businesse had bene treated by him, hee would not have made so grosse an omission, but would have sufficiently secured that point, as hee ever made profession to the Conde de Olivares and the Spanish ministers, for which it is well knowne hee hath had many a byword, and they laboured to shunn and avoyde the treating therin with him.

Fourth Proposition.

When his Majestie had given a peremptory day for the returne of the Prince, the Earl did advise his stay untill the spring, and did endeavour to stay him, with more earnestnesse then became him, not foreseeing the evill consequence, for which he is sorrye.

Answer.

First, the Earl of Bristol sayth that hee never heard that his Majestie had prescribed the Prince a peremptorye day for his returne, but hee well remembreth that, in the beginning of August, the Conde de Olivares sent very early in the morning to desire to speake with him, and tolde him that, contrary to that which had bene few dayes before promised both unto the Infanta and the King, the Duke of Buckingham would needes now perswade the Prince presently to returne, although they understoode both from thier ambassadors in England that his Majestie would not bee displeased with the Prince's stay, and that the Duke himselfe had shewed him a letter from the King all written with the King's owne hand, that intimated as much, in which the King wrote that if the Prince beeing inamoured would stay to attend his mistress, hee might; but that hee would have him with all convenient speede returne unto him. Hee likewise sayde, that the Kinges owne letter to the Kinge of Spayn, bearing date the 21st of July 1623, although it pressed the Kinge to abreviate the tyme as much as might bee, yet it seemed no way [to] implye any commande unto the Prince for his present returne, and hee gave unto the Earl of Bristol a coppye of the sayd letter. The Conde was then pleased to attribute that suddaine resolution to some personall distastes which the Duke had taken some few dayes before. From the Conde de Olivares the Earl of Bristol came unto the Prince's lodginges, wher, wayting on his Highness, his Highness was pleased to make knowne unto him that hee had an intention to departe

within few dayes. The Earl of Bristol then freely acquainted his Highness with all that had passed with the Conde de Olivares, and asked of his Highness whether hee would give him leave, as his father's minister and his humble servant, to debate the businesse with him, promising that when hee should have spoken his opinion faythfully as a councellor, hee would as a servant dutifully apply himselfe and all his indeavours to advance whatsoever hee should understande to bee the Prince's pleasure. As for the arguments and reasons which the Earl of Bristol offered unto his Highness consideration in the debate of his stay, although they are too long for this answer, yet the Earl of Bristol is most ready and willing to sett them downe faythfully, that his Majestie may judge whether therin hee spake not like a faythfull and zealous servant for the effecting of that hee understoode to bee by them both most desired. But when the Prince declared his resolution of going, the Earl of Bristol then instantly swore unto him that hee would from thence-forward contribute all his industrye and service for the advauncing of his journey; as hee honestly did, both by advising the best hee could uppon all occasions, and solliciting daylye to gett in a readinesse the Spanish preparations, and in fitting upp such presents as the Prince was to give at his departure; and lastly, by furnishing the Prince with monye to the som of fiftene thousand pownds uppon his owne creddit, and jewells, and sixe thousand pownds afterward beeing charged uppon him from St. Andera, which by other meanes was not then to bee had, as Mr. Secretarie Cottington and Mr. Wiche cannot but bothe of them well remember.

Fifth Proposition.

And after the departure of the Prince, notwithstanding the Prince's signification of his pleasure to have the *desposorios* suspended, and his Majesties direction to deferr them till Christmas, (the approbation comming of the dispensation,) the Earl of Bristol doth accknowledge that, out of the judgment hee made of the integrity of the Spanish ministers, hee passed over the arguments

hee might have used more slightly then was requesite, and accepted that approbation with a more speedye day appoynted for the performance of them then the present conjuncture of the affayres required; which though hee did uppon good intention, yet now seeing the evill consequence that might have depended on it, hee is sorrye for it.

ANSWER.

The Earl of Bristol sayth that, the day of the Prince's departure from the Escuriall, the Prince delivered unto him, in the presence of the Commissioners of both sides, his powers, with publike declaration (which was taken in writing by the Secretarie Ciriça) of his pleasure, and how hee should use them, vidtt: that hee should deliver them unto the King of Spayne uppon the comming of the dispensation cleared from Rome, according to that which had bene agreed, which was to be within ten dayes after the comming of the sayde dispensation. It is trew that his Highness, by his letters without date, but sent by Mr. Clarke, commanded the sayde Earl that hee should not deliver his powers untill such tyme as hee should have receaved security that the Infanta, after her being betroathed, should not enter into any religious order, and that, before he proceeded, hee should send such securitye as should bee offered unto the Prince, that hee might judge whether it were sufficient or not; which letters the Earl of Bristol exactly obeyed, and wrote unto the Prince that hee might bee sure hee would not proceede untill hee should have his further order; and theruppon did accordingly send unto the King and Princè such reasons and assurances as were offered unto him for securing of that pointe, which gave unto his Majestie and the Prince such satisfaction, as they were pleased to dispatch a post presently backe unto him absolutely discharging him of that commandement, as will appeare by his Majesties letters of the 8th of October, in which he writeth: "Wee have receaved your letters brought by Gresley and the coppye of yours to our deere sonn, and wee cannot forbeare to lett you know how well wee

esteeme your dutifull, discreete, and juditious relation and humble advise to our selfe and our sonn; wheruppon having ripely deliberated with our selfe, and communicated with our deere sonn, wee have resolved with the liking of our sonn to rest uppon that securitye in pointe of doubt of the Infanta's taking a religious order which your judgment shall thinke fitt." And the Prince, in letters of the like date, as followeth :—" Your letters to the King and mee concerning that doubt I made, after I came from St. Lorenço, hath so satisfyed us both, that wee thinke it fitt no longer to sticke uppon it, but leave it to your discretion to take such securitye as you shall thinke sufficient."

Now the Earl of Bristol beeing set free, and discharged both by the King and Prince of the commande brought by Mr. Clarke, it cannot bee doubted but hee remayned under the order which the Prince had left with him at his departure, which was to have proceeded according to the capitulations, and the Prince's declaration when hee delivered his powers to the Earl of Bristol; which was that hee intended to have done, untill, by his Highness letters of the 13th of November, hee was directly comanded the contrarye; which commandment hee readily and punctually obeyed, so that the Earl of Bristol referreth it to any indifferent judgment, whether ther bee any probabilitye that, having obeyed the Prince's commandment so exactly by Mr. Clarke untill hee was discharged of it, and afterwards having so readilye obeyed the Prince's order of the 13th of November, all things beeing in a readinesse, and the marriage beeing to have bene within three dayes after, whether it bee probable that hee, that at the first and at the last so readily obeyed, would have disobeyed in the midle if hee had any commandement to restraine him; but the trewth is, hee had none but incouragements rather to doe as hee intended, for hee could not imagine that his Majestie or his Highness would have sett him free of the restraynts layed uppon him by Mr. Clarke, if theire intention had not bene that hee should have proceeded; besydes, his Highness was pleased at the same tyme to write to the Earl of Bristol both that hee much desired the

marriadge, and that hee assureth him ther was no intention to breake it.

As for his Majesties direction to have the *desposorios* deferred till Christmas, hee marvayleth to see it insisted still uppon, having answered it so fully in the 18th article of his interrogatoryes. But breefely, the Earl of Bristol sayth that his Majesties directions to proceede to the marriage were possitive, but for the tyme his Majestie only intimateth a desire it should bee at Christmas, if it might well bee; but that was impossible for divers respects, both that the King of Spayne would not condiscend to the proroguing of the *desposorios*, and likewise for that the powers were expired before, which not beeing made knowne unto the Kinge, was the cause of his Majesties writing in that sorte, which otherwise hee would not have done, as hee is pleased to say in his letters of the 13th of November, 1623, which hee writeth :—" Wee have read your letters of the 8th of October, and the coppye of that power which was left by our deere sonn : wee have examined and approved your reasons, and doe assure you that, if wee had seene the power left by our sonn befor[e] our last letters, wee had not written to you in the forme wee had in ours of the 9th of October touching the tyme of Christmas."

Further, the Earl of Bristol sayth that this article, which is so much pressed, is not of any fault committed, but only of an intention of doing that for which hee had had sufficient warrant. But, if ther had bene errour in the intention, yet the fault had bene prevented by his obedience before the intention were reduced into act, for so it is in cases towards God himselfe. But the trewth is ther was no fault in this intention, but the Earl of Bristol could neyther with discretion, honestye, nor safetye, have proceeded otherwise then hee intended, unlesse hee had receaved the King and Prince's direct and cleare order not to proceede to the *desposorios*, which as soone as hee receaved was readily and exactly obeyed.

As for the integritye of the Spanish ministers, hee doth ingeniously confesse that hee verily beleved at the tyme when the day for the marriadge was agreed they intended really on the part of

Spayne to have performed all that was capitulated, and, if since the contrary cometh to bee certeinly knowne, wherof hee is ignorant, hee confesseth hee was therin deceaved.

As for the evill consequences which are pretended would have followed if hee had proceeded, hee must confesse hee understood the cleare contrary: for hee supposed that the King should have speedily seene the marriadge, which hee had so long sought, effected, that the Prince should have had a worthye ladie whom hee loved, that the portion should have bene three tymes as much as was ever given in monye in Christendome, that the King of Spayne had engaged himselfe for the restitution of the Palatinate, for which the Earl of Bristol conceaved a daughter of Spayne and 2 millions had bene no ill pawne, besydes divers other additions of advantages to the Crowne, all which, if it had not beene obteined, yet three moneths longer patience would after so many yeares have discovered the trewth of all thinges, for the first day of March was appoynted for the journey, wheras on the contrary side hee foresaw the Prince would bee kept a yeare at the least longer unmarryed, a thing that so highly concerned these kingdomes, hee doubted that the recovery of the Palatinate from the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria by force would prove of great difficultye, and that Christendome was like to fall into a generall combustion; so that, desiring on the one side that his master should have obteyned his ends, and on the other that his Majestie might have had the honor and happinesse not only to have given peace, plenty, and increase to his owne subjects and crownes, but to have compounded the greate differences that had bene these many yeares in Christendome, and by his pyety and wisdom to have prevented the shedding of so much Christian blood, as hee feared would ensue if those businesses were disordered, these reasons, hee confesseth, and his zeale unto his Majesties service, made him so earnestly desire the effecting of this businesse; and the Earl of Bristol confesseth hee cannot but thinke himselfe a most unfortunate man that, seeing his Majesties affayres so neere the beeing setled to his Majesties content as hee

conceaved, and hoping to have bene unto his master not only a faythfull but a successfull servante, to see the whole state of affayres turned upsyde downe without any the least fault of his, and yet that he should be the onely minister eyther on the English or Spanish side that remayneth under disgrace.

And having made unto these propositions this cleere and trew answer, the Earl of Bristol is confident that the Duke of Buckhingham, seeing his innocencye, will, according to that which hee had promised in his paper, uppon the accknowledgment of these supposed errours, doe it now more willinglye uppon the seeing of them cleered, vid^{t}, imploye his power and force with the King and Prince to admitt the Earl to kisse thier handes and to receave him to their gratious favour, which if the Duke shallbee pleased to doe, the Earl will receave it for so high an obligation as hee will faythfully indeavour to deserve it by his best services.

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JOURNAL

OF

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,

FROM DEC. 1570 TO APRIL 1583.

EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CAREW,

BY

CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXX.

PREFACE.

The following Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham is extracted from a manuscript in the possession of Colonel Carew, of Crowcombe Court, of the discovery of which, with other papers, an account was given by the late Mr. Bruce, in his preface to Sir John Borough's notes of the Treaty of Ripon, edited by him for the Camden Society in 1869.

The diary consists of notices of Walsingham's movements, and occasionally of other events of interest, with memoranda for each day of all letters sent and received. In order to save space, these memoranda have been omitted, and a list of all the letters sent and received has been placed at the end.

Although all the entries are in the first person, the manuscript is not in Walsingham's own hand, but in that of his secretary. The Diary commences with December 1570, when Walsingham, who had been already sent during the summer as ambassador to France, to assist in negotiating an accord between Charles IX. and the Huguenot party, was again dispatched thither as resident in place of Sir Henry Norris, with general instructions to preserve amity between the two realms, and to assist the Huguenot party, and also—though this was not expressed in his first instructions—to prepare the way for the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Anjou.

The last date is April 1583, but there are four breaks in the entries. The first is from Jan. 157½ to Dec. 1573, on the 21st of which

month Walsingham was sworn secretary; the second is the omission of May 1575; there is a third break from June 1578 to March 1580; and a fourth for the month of August and part of September 1581, when Walsingham was again sent on an embassy to France, the chief object of which was to break off the negotiations for the marriage of the Queen with the younger brother of her former suitor.

The instructions for these two embassies, and a large portion of Walsingham's correspondence, are printed in Digges's *Compleat Ambassador*. The name of the bridge on which the bull against Queen Elizabeth was set up, mentioned at p. 5, should have been supplied as St. Estienne, but was unfortunately overlooked until too late for insertion.

It has not been thought necessary to index the list of names of senders and receivers of letters.

JOURNAL OF SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,

FROM DEC. 1570 TO APRIL 1583.

DECEMBRE. ANNO 1570

Sunday 3. That the Queen of Scotes shoulde be verie sycke.

Mondaye 4. The Bishop of Rose with D. Astloe and Dr. Good went to Tutberie. The Counsaylle sat at Mr. Secretaries. The Cardinall Chastillon departed towards Canterburie.

Wensdaye 6. Lettres from Venize that Nicosia was taken by myne of the Turkes, that the Pope was greatly appalled at the losse therof, and that the armye of the Pope, the Spaniarde, and the Venetians havinge loste a greate numbre of men by sundrye diseases, retourned without doing any worthie or notable entreprise.

Poste from Andwarpe, that the steaple of St. Georges in Andwarpe was burned by lighteninge the xxixth of Novembre.

Thursdaye 14. I wente to the Courte.

Saturdaye 16. I spake with the Queenes Majestie.

Mundaye 18. The Ambassadoure of Fraunce dyned with me.

Tuesdaye 19. I went to the Courte to speake with Sir William Cicill aboute my dispatche. Lettres sente to Sir H. Norreys by his sonne.

Wensdaye 20. Certeine newes com oute of Spayne, that the King of Spaine hath receaved an overthrowe at the Mores handes, and that his arme is retired partely for lacke of victualls, and

partely for that the Mores fare excede the Spaniardes in numbre.

Thursdaye 21. I receaved newes out of Fraunce.

Fridaye 22. I sente my trayne over before to Bullen.

Satturday 23. I received my instructions from the Courte by Mr. Secretaries ordre. Lettres from Ferrara bearing date the xvjth of Novembre, of a terrible earthquacke that shoulde be there, at Mantua, and in some parte of Romaignia.

Sundaye 24. I wente unto the Courte, and had conference with my Lord of Lecestre and Mr. Secretarie about a matter of greate importance.

Mundaye 25. I had conference with the judge of thadmiraltie, touchinge certeine marchauntes matters.

Wensdaye 27. Poste out of Scotlande, that the Lord Morton shoulde cum commissioner from the King to the Queenes Majestie.

Fridaye 29. I myself came from London to Gravesende by barge, and from thence to bedd, to Citingbourne in poste.

Saturdaye 30. I came to Canterburie, wheare I had conference with the Cardinal Chastillon, and from thence to bedd to Dover.

JANUARIE. ANNO 1571.

Mundaye 1. I went from Dover, and so to Bullen. I arrived aboute ij or thre of the clocke in the afternone.

The Governour, forasmuch as he himselfe was sycklie of the goute, sent his sonne in lawe, Mounsieur de Bournouzel, a Knight of the Ordre, Capetanye Mouns, and divers other to salute me.

Tewsdaie 2. The governour himself came, accompanied with divers gentlemen, to viset me.

Thursday 4. I departed from Bullen, and came aboute ij or thre of the clocke in the afternone to Muttrell, wheare the Gover-

nour, called Monsieur de Mally, came to my lodginge to visit me, accompanied with Capetayne Mouns and certein other souldiars.

Satturday 6. I departed from Muttrelle, and so arrived to Abbeville, about iij of the clocke in the afternone.

Monday 8. I departed from Abbeville, and came to bed to Piquenel.

Twesday 9. I departed from Piquenel, and came to bed to Amiens.

Wednesday 10. I departed from Amiens, and came to bed to Berthol.

Thursday 11. I departed from Berthoil, and came to bed to Clermont.

Friday 12. I departed from Cleremont to Luyfort.

Satturday 13. I departed from Luyfart to St. Denis. Lettres sent to Sir Henry Norreis, to advertise him of my cumming to St. Denis, as also that I minde to be at Paris uppon Monday next.

Tuesday 16. I departed from St. Denis, and by the waye I met with Sir Henry Norreys and certein other gentlemen that dwell in Paris, and came to Paris aboute iij of the clocke in the afternone.

Thursdaye 18. Mr. Lanquet, ambassadour for the Duke of Saxonie, came to visit me.

Sonday 21. Mr. Briquemault came to visite me.

Twesday 23. Mr. de Briquemault came to visit me.

Thursday 25. I wente to the Courte, and had audience at the Kinges hand, his mother, and his bretheren.

Friday 26. Taffi, servant to the Prince of Orenge, came to visit me.

Saturday 27. Castrutzi, the ambassadour for Luc, came to viset me.

Sunday 28. The Venetian ambassadour came to salute me. Sir Henry Norreies dyned with me.

Monday 29. The Scottish ambassadour came to viset me.

Twesday 30. I sent to the Court to knowe the certentie of the Kinges entrie.

Wednesday 31. Mr. Hollingshed came unto me with a lettre from my Lorde of Buckhurste.

FEBRUARIE. ANNO 1571.

Thursdaye 1. I sent Mr. Beale to the Courte then being at Madrille.

Sonday 4. Monsieur de Gundi came to viset me.

Twesday 6. I had accesse to the King and to Queen Mother, at St. Germine.

Wednesday 7. Monsieur de Briquemalt came to viset me.

Thursday 8. The Vidame came to speake with me.

Sunday 11. I dyned with the Vidame.

Monday 12. I conducted Sir Henry Norreys on his waye homeward.

Twesday 13. The ambassadour of Florence came to viset me.

Wednesday 14. I wente to Madrille and there had audience at the King's handes aboute certeine merchantes causes, and there presented to the King the Earl of Rutlande.

Friday 16. Monsieur Gundi came unto me.

Sundaye 18. I went to St. Dennis to see my Lord of Buckhurste.

Mondaye 19. The Lord Seaton came to me.

Twesdaye 20. I wente to St. Dennies to meet my Lord of Buckhurste to conduite him to Paris, and in the midwaye I met with the Marques of Trant and of Salus, who weare appoynted by the Kinge to do the like.

Thursday 22. I went to taulke with the Spanish ambassadour. The Vidame came to speake with me.

Fridaye 23. I wente with my Lord of Buckhurste to the Courte.

Sondaye 25. Mr. Dougles came to speake with me. Mr. de Bournouzel came to speake with me.

Monday 26. My Lord of Buckhurste with the reste of his gentlemen came to viset me.

Twesday 27. I wente to dynner to my Lorde of Buckhurste, and by the waye I met with the Vidame. I sent a memorialle to Seigneur Gundi by him to be presented to the King.

Wensday 28. I went to my Lord of Buckhurstes. Monsieur de Briquemault came to viset me

MARCHE. ANNO 1571.

Thursdaye 1. I went to Monsieur de Foix, and taulked with him aboute Mr. Benigfeildes matter.

Friday 2. I went with my Lorde of Buckhurste to the Courte of Rety howse in the faubourge of[a] wheare the King laye.

I toke my leave then of the Kinge, his bretheren, Queene Mother, and the newe Queene.

A bulle set up ageinste the Queen my mystres au pont de[a] was brought up by Mr. Dannett.

Saturday 3. My Lord of Buckhurst came to supp and lye in my howse.

Sunday 4. My Lord of Buckhurste and I dyned at the Duke of Nevers' howse.

Twesdaye 6. The King made his entrie into Paris accompanied with Monsieur Duke Alenzon, the Duke of Lorrayne, and divers others of the nobilitie and gentlemen, the Lordes of Towne, the Lordes of Parliament, and alle sortes of handycraftes men.

Sundaye 11. I wente to speake with Count Olivares, an ambassadour sent from the Kinge of Spayne to congratulate the Kinges mariage here.

Wednesdaye 14. My Lorde of Buckhurste departed hence with alle his trayne.

[a] Blank in MS.

Thursdaye 15. I wente to speake with the Vidame.

Fridaye 16. Foure pasportes made for iiij Scottish men, James Bogg, George Swinton, Alexander Sutton, Duncan Balford.

Sundaye 18. I wente to Cleremount to meet my wife.

Mundaye 19. My wife came to Paris aboute ij of the clocke in the afternone.

Twesday 20. I came from Clearemount.

Five pasports made for Mr. James Clark, Walter Heriot the elder, Walter Heriot the yonger, James Heriot, and James Ramsey.

Fridaye 23. I sent a lettre to Roan to Thomas Bricknar.

I sent my secretarie to Monsr. de Foix and Monsr. de Marmillees, to require redres of certein marchants causes.

Satturday 24. A lettre from the Earle of Bedforde by Rowlande the Poste.

Sonday 25. The Queen crowned at St. Dennies.

The Archbishop of Cassels came to speake with me.

The Ambassadour of Florence came to viset me.

Mondaye 26. Madame Calliac, the governoures wife of Bullain, came to viset me.

My Lorde Seaton came to speake with me.

Wednesday 28. Madame Caliac dyned with me.

Thursday 29. The Queen made her entrie into Paris.

Saturday 31. I went to the Palais, and there had audience at Queen Mother's handes.

April. Anno 1571.

Twesday 3. The Count Olivares and the Spanish ambassador came to viset me.

Madam de Mony came to viset me.

Thursday 5. Mr. Blont departed from hence, and Mr. Beale into Englande.

Friday 6. Mr. Cobham went towardes Spayne.

Saturday 7. Monsr. de Foix secretary came to taulke with me.
Sunday 8. I went to speake with the Vidame.
Monday 9. I went to the Courte to taulke with the Queen, and there presented to the Queen a supplication for Sir Thomas Cotton, an other for Roger Haukin, an other for Ric. Thomas.
Thursday 12. I wente to Bois du Vincent with the Earl of Rutlande.
Sonday 15. The Archbishop of Cassels came to speake with me in the forenone.
Twesday 17. The Archbishop of Cassels came to speake with me in the fornone, and the Scottesh Ambassador in the afternone.
Thursday 19. The Vidame came to speake with me.
Friday 20. The Archbishop of Cassells came to speake with me.
Satturday 21. My wife wente to the Courte, being entertained by the Queen Mother, the yonge Queen, the Duchese of Lorrayne, the Lady Margeret, Monsieur, and dyvers others.
Twesday 24. I went to speake with Monsieur de Foix.
Wednesday 25. The Vidame came to speake with me.
Thursday 26. The Vidame came to speake with me.
Friday 27. I went to St. Clou, wheare I had audience of Queen Mother.
The Vidame came to speake with me.
Saturday 28. The Vidame dyned with me.

MAY. ANNO 1571.

Twesday 1. The Marques of Tranes dyned with me.
Wednesday 2. A pastporte graunted to one Guion Harry, otherwise called du Chene of Brittayne.
Friday 4. Monsr. Raning dyned with me.
Thursday 10. The Ambassadour of Scotland came to viset me.
Friday 11. The Vidame came to speake with me.
Saturday 12. The Vidame came to speake with me.
Friday 18. I went from Paris to Poissy to bed.

Saturday 19. I dyned at Mauntes, and went to Vernon to bed.

Monday 21. I went to Gallion, and there had audience of Queen Mother and Monsieur.

I dyned with the Cardinall of Bourbon.

Twesday 22. I went againe to Gallion from Vernon, and had audience of the King.

I dyned with Monsr. de Foix.

Wednesday 23. A passeporte graunted to William Cammelle.

Thursday 24. I went from Vernon to Mauntes to diner and to Poissy to bed.

Friday 25. I went from Poissy to Paris to dinner.

A lettre receaved from the Counselle by a marchant. Two passeportes graunted to ij Scotes, Alexandre Acskin and John Drisdalle.

Sonday 27. I went to taulke with the Spanish Ambassadour.

Monday 28. I went to speake with Madame Carnavalet.

Twesday 29. A passeporte graunted unto one Herrie de Conde, a servant of the Queen of Scotts.

Wednesday 30. Madame de Mony came to viset me.

A lettre sent to my Lord of Leicestre in her doughter's behalf.

JUNE. ANNO 1571.

Saterdaye 2. A passeport graunted to Barney Will Hanson, servant to Mr. Henrie Denye. I went from Paris to Corbelle to bed.

Sondaye 3. I went from Corbelle to Prignye to reccave the communion. I went from thence at dynner and came to bed to Paris.

Mondaye 4. Lanquet dyned with me.

Wednesdaye 6. Lettres sent to the Court to Mr. Cavalcant by Walter Williams upon the report of the Kinges hurte.

Thursdaye 7. Mr. Lanquet and Mr. Lobetun dyned with me.

A passeport graunted to Florest Brossier, servaunt to the Queen of Scotes, and workeman in tapistrye.

Frydaye 8. Jacomo came out of England with lettres.

Monday 11. I went from Paris to Poissy to dyner, and taried ther all that night.

Tewsday 12. I went from Poissy to Vernon by water, and laye ther that night.

Harcot came out of England with lettres.

Wednesday 13. I went from Vernon to Louviers to dynner.

Frydaye 15. I went to the Court at Gallion and ther had audience at Queen Mother and the Kinges handes.

Sonday 17. I sent my secretairie to the Court about certayne marchauntes causes.

Lettres receaved out of Spaigne by Secretairie Pynart from Mr. Cobham.

Mondaye 18. I went late in the eveninge to the Court, and talked with the King and Queen Mother.

Thursdaye 21. I sent my secretarie to the Court about certayne merchauntes causes.

Saterday 23. The Ambassadour of Florence came to speake with me.

A Scotishe gentleman came to speake with me.

Sonday 24. I went to see a garden of Monsr. de Bordesire.

Tewsday 26. I sent my secretarie to Paris with lettres to Mr. de Foix, Monsr. Lanquet, Monsr. de Changy, Captain Tomaso, Mr. Cobham.

Saterday 30. I came from Loviers to Vernon to bed.

JULY. ANNO 1571.

Sonday 1. I went from Vernon to Manstes to bed.

Monday 2. I went from Mantes to Poissy to bed.

Tewsday 3. I went from Poissy to Paris to bed.

Lettres receaved from Geneva from Mr. Portas, Mr. Cartwright.

Wednesday 4. Lanquet dyned with me.

Thursday 5. A passeport granted to Henrie Keyre, Scotishman.

Friday 6. I went from Paris to Meaux to bed.

Satterday 7. I sent my secretairie to the Court at Monceaux. I went to visit the Venetian and Spaingnishe Ambassadours.

Monday 9. I receaved order from the King to go [to] Mellum.

Tewsday 10. I went to the Court at Monceaux, and had audience at Queen Mother's hand.

Wednesday 11. I sent Mr. Beale to Mr. de Foix.

Thursday 12. I departed from Mieux, Sanniers to dynner, and from thence to Rosset to bed.

Friday 13. I came to Mellun to bed.

Monday 16. I receaved lettres from the King to go to Montreaul. I recommended the Englishe men's cause at Marsellus to Mr. Briquemault.

Friday 20. Monsr. Artus, the Prince of Naverrs secretarie, came to speake with me.

Sonday 22. I went to St. Jermon to the sermon, beinge accompagned at dinner the same daye with Mr. Bataille, Mares Navires.

Monday 23. Monsr. Briquemault came to visit me the morninge, and in the after noone Mr. de la Noüe and Mr. Thiligni.

Tewsday 24. The Ambassadours of Tuscans secretarie came to visit me.

Thursday 26. Mr. Cavalcant sent unto me by Queen Mother to staye my dispache.

Saterday 28. Sent for to the Court the next daye.

Sonday 29. I repaired to the Court, wher I conferred with the King, Queen Mother, and Monsieur.

AUGUST. ANNO 1571.

Wednesday 2.* Monsr. de Foix in his jorney towardes England came to viset me.

Thursday 3. Mr. Telighni came to visit me.

* So, instead of Aug. 1. The mistake is continued throughout until Dec. 22.

Satterday 5. I came to Paris from Mellun.
Sonday 6. I conferred with Comte Ludo.
Monday 7. I retourned to Mellun.
Friday 11. I came with my ffamilie to Paris.
Wednesday 16. Monsr. de Cavanes, Monsr. de Piles, came to se me. Madame de Subise and Madame de Noyon came to see me.
Fryday 18. I went to visit Madame de Subize. Queen Mother went from Paris.
Sonday 20. The cochier came unto me.
Monday 21. The Scotishe Ambassadour came to visit me and Madame Scipion Sardigni.
Wednesday 23. The Venetian Ambassadour came to visit me.
Thursday 24. Cavanns came to viset me.
Fryday 25. Madame de Noyon came to visit me.

(*A leaf is lost here.*)

October. Anno 1571.

Tewsday 3. My Lord of Rutland departed from Bloyes.
Sonday 8. Harcot dispached into England.
Monday 9. I accompaigned Monsr. de Lysie when he retorned homewardes.
Tewsday 10. Monsr. de Foix came and visited me.
Fryday 13. I wrote a lettre in the behalfe of one Fuket, a merchant of Britany, unto my Lord Burghley. Madame d' Obinees had a pasport.
Sonday 15. Mr. Cremer, gentille Alman, dyned with me.
Wednesday 18. I had audience of the King, being sent for by hym. The King departed from Bloys.
Thursday 19. The admirall departed towardes his house. Mr. Dannet came out of England.
Fryday 20. Digbie dispached toward England.
Satterday 21. Entertaynment of a new cochier.

Sonday 22. The Comte Villiclere of the house of Martiningo came to visit me.

The Ambassador of Tuscan came to visit me. Monsr. du Pine came to visit me.

Monday 23. Monsr. Cavanes came and visited me.

Tewsday 31. I departed from Bloyes towardes Paris, and loged that night at St. Lorraines.

NOVEMBRE. ANNO 1571.

Wednesday 1. I came to Orleans.

Thursday 2. I came to Turie to bed.

Fryday 3. I came to Estampes.

Saterday 4. I came to Montherye to bed.

Sonday 5. I came to Paris where I found Mr. Killigrewe, by whom I receaved lettres from her Majestie, my Lord of Burghley, my Lord of Leycestre, and divers other of my frendes.

Monday 6. The Spanishe Ambassadour's secretairie came to viset me.

Wednesday 8. Tow of my lord of Oxfordes men came out of England, Mr. Fant and Mr. Clapton, by whom I receaved lettres from my Lord of Burghley.

Fryday 10. Mr. Killigrew went to the Court from Paris.

Tewsday 14. Monsr. du Pine came to visit me.

Wednesday 15. Monsr. Tuffin came to visit me. I began my diet.

Mr. Talbot came to visit me.

Saterday 18. Madame Doure came to viset me.

Tewsday 21. Captain Franchatto came to viset me. Monsr. Lopes and Martinius came to viset me. Monsr. Baynard came to viset me.

Wednesday 22. Monsr. Tuffin came to viset me.

Wednesday 29. Monsr. Baynard came to viset me.

DECEMBER. ANNO 1571.

Sonday 3. Madame de Noyon came to visit me.
Monday 4. Monsr. du Pine came to visit me.
Tewsday 5. Captain Tomaso came to viset me.
Wendsday 6. Madame Cipion came to visit me.
Saterday 9. Madame Chatillon came to viset me.
A passeport made for Ryc. Smythe and Rowland Michel.
Fryday 15. Mr. Walday came to visit me. Mr. Tuffin came to visit me.
Tewsday 19. Monsr. Ramus came to viset me.
Thursday 21. The crosse in St. Denis streat was pulled downe at iij of the clocke in the night.
Monday 24. Sir Thomas Smythe came to Paris.
Tewsday 25. Monsr. du Pine came to viset me. Monsr. Ramus came to viset me. Mr. Cavalcant came out of England.
A Scotishman servaunt to the first regient brought me lettres out of England.
Thursday 27. John de Noble came to viset me.

JANUARIE. ANNO 1572.

Monday 7. Monsr. Antoine, an Italien, came to visit me.
Thursday 10. Water Williams and Digbye came out of England.
Saterday 12. Mr. Wood went from Mr. Killigrew into England with lettres to my Lord of Leycestre and other of my frendes.
Monday 14. The Ambassadeurs man of Tuskan came to visit me.
Tewsday 15. Water Williams went to the Court.
Thursday 17. John de Rosse went into England.

DECEMBER. ANNO 1573.

Mondaye 21. I was sworne secretarie.
I had ordre from the counselle for the answering of the Deputies lettres.

The Erle of Leycester and I had conference with the Lord Tresorer about the Aleman affaires.

Tuesdaie 22. I presented to my Lords of the Counsielle the lettres translated.

Received from her Majestie the King and Queene Mother's lettres.

Receyved certain lettres of her Majestie in commendacion of a certain Aleman.

Reyceyved certain lettres directed unto her Majestie from Danswicke.

Receyved lettres from the Justices of Norfolke delivered unto the clerkes of the counseil.

Receved a bill of therle of Leycestre to be signed for a gifte of a benifice to Rowles.

Received order at the request of therle of Leycester to her Majestie to make a protection for A. B.

I gave order to the clarkes of the Signet to have the lettres for the provision of Ierland engrossed.

I repaired with the Count Palatin's man to the Lorde Tresorers.

Wednesday 23. I received lettres from the Lord President of Yorke directed unto her Majestie and to the Lords of the Counsel.

I dealte with her Majestie about the Ierishe affaires.

Thursdaie 24. My Lords of the counselle met.

The Frenche Ambassadeur had audience. I was appointed by her Majestie to geve him a note of Mr. Warcopps sute.

Fridaie 25. Mr. Recorder sent from the Lords of the Counseill to speake with me.

Saterdaie 26. I was sent by my Lordes of the Counsaylle unto her Majestie.

I was sent by her Majestie unto the Lord Tresorer. I receyved a memoriall from the Frenche Ambassadour to move her Majestie to sende one unto the Queene of Scottes. I re-

ceyved a lettre from Monsieur Generall directed unto her Majestie. I presented unto my Lords of the Counseil lettres sent from Sir John Foster and from the Bishop of Ely.

Sondaye 27. I gave order for instructions and lettres to be made for Capten Sute for the disposing of ij^{c} men arryved at Lastall.

Mondaye 28. I dispatched Mr. Shute to Lestall in Suffolke.

Ireceyved from the master of the requestes, by her Majesties order, certain billes to be consydered of by my Lords of the counsell.

Tuesdaye 29. I receyved a lettre from Mr. Shute by post touching the men arrived at Lastall. I procured at her Majesties handes the dispatche of the Count Palatin's man.

Wednesdaie 30. I received a packet of lettres directed unto her Majestie from Flusshing.

I preferred divers requestes in counselle.

Thursdaie 31. I wrote to my Lord Cobham by her Majesties commaundment for the convoye of the Bishop of Ros. My Lords of the Counsell referred over the Danswicke causes untill the second of Januarie. I presented the governers of Flusshinges lettre unto her Majestie.

JANUARIE. ANNO 1574°. Regni Elizabethæ Reginæ 16°.

Saterdaie 2. My Lordes sat in counselle.

I dispatched the Count Mongomeris man with lettres to the Capten of Garnesey.

Mondaye 4. I was sent by her Majestie to the Lord Tresorer to conferre with him.

I procured divers thinges to be signed by her Majestie.

Tuesdaie 5. I tooke order for the lodging of the Baron de Obigni. The Lords of the Counsell sat in the afternone about the Irishe matters.

Wednesdaie 6. The Counsell sat.

Thursdaie 7. The Counsell was held for the supplie of Ierland.

Fridaie 8. The counsell sat about the Irishe affaires.

Saterdaie 9. The counsell assembled. The Frenche Ambassadeur had audience. I procured a warrant to be signed of 600 li. for a supplie to be sent into Ierland.

Sondaie 10. The counsell sat about the Irishe affaires.

Mondaie 11. I procured her Majestie to signe a warrant of 8000 li. for Ierland.

Tewsdaie 12. The Queenes Majestie removed to Hampton Court from Whight Halle.

I advertised Mr. Secretarie of tharrivall of Monsieur d'Aubigny.

Thursdaie 14. I came to Hampton Court.

Fridaie 15. The counselle assembled.

Saterdaie 16. I moved her Majestie for lettres to Queene Mother for the Vidame.

Sondaie 17. The Baron d'Aubigny had audience. I procured her Majestie to sygne the deputies lettres of Ierland. I receyved certain lettres intercepted by the Maior of Dover, which I retorned agayne.

Mondaie 18. I procured Waterfisshes bille to be signed for Copper. I procured a lettre for the Vidame.

Tuesdaie 19. The Frenche Ambassadeur had audience.

Wednesdaie 20. The Baron d'Aubigni tooke his leave. The counsell sat.

Thursdaie 21. I procured the signing and dispatche of the Baron d'Aubignie's lettres.

Fridaie 23. Her Majestie signed the Erle of Essex warrant for supplie of money and victailes as also for the levying of 400 souldiars.

Sondaie 24. The counsell sat.

Tuesdaie 26. The counselle sat.

Wednesdaie 27. The counsell sat. The Frenche Ambassadeur had audience.

Thursdaie 28. I wroat to the Count Montgomerie for his retire

out of Garnesey. The counsell sat about Sir John Parret's matters.

FEBRUARIE. ANNO 1573.

Thursdaie 4. I went to London.

Frydaie 5. I sat in the Starre Chamber.

Saterdaie 6. I came againe to the Court. The Frenche Ambassadeur had audience.

Sondaie 7. The Lordes of the Counselle sat.

Tuesdaye 9. I went to London.

Thursdaie 11. I perused certain lettres intercepted sent unto me by the Lord Tresorer.

Saterdaie 13. My Lorde Grayes matter was harde in the Starre Chambre. I retorned to the Court.

Sondaie 14. Mr. Secretarie and I examined W.

Mondaie 15. The counsell sat.

Wednesdaie 17. I dispatched lettres to the maiors of Dover and Rye to suffre no Scotishman to passe without passporte.

Thursdaie 18. Her Majestie removed from Hampton Court to Sir Thomas Gressams. I went to Fullham.

Saterdaie 20. I retorned to Hampton Court.

Mondaie 22. I receyved lettres from the Prince of Orenge of the taking of Mydleburge. The counsell sat about Irishe matters.

Thursdaie 25. The counselle sat.

MARCHE. ANNO 1573.

Mondaie 1. I sent lettres to Mr. Waterhouse for the staye of the men.

Tuesdaie 2. The Queene removed from Hampton to Grenwiche.

Wednesdaie 3. I writ to Mr. Attorney for the staye of Coroners veredict touching matters betwene the Lord Graye and Mr. Fortescew.

Thursdaie 4. I retorned to the Court to Grenewiche.
Fridaie 5. I fell sycke and went to London.
Tuesdaie 16. I came againe to the Court.
Saterdaie 20. The counsell sat about Irishe matters.
Sondaie 21. The counsell sat about Irishe matters.

MARCHE. ANNO 1574.

Sondaie 28. The counselle sat about the perusing of lettres to be sent into Ierland.

APRIL. ANNO 1574.

Sondaie 4. The counselle sat.
Fridaie 9. The counselle sat.
Fridaie 30. The French Ambassador had audience.

MAYE. ANNO 1574.

Mondaie 3. Mr. Layton was despatched into France with her Majesties lettres to the King and Queen Mother.
Thursdaie 20. The counselle sat.
Mondaie 24. I sat at Westminster about the examinacion of the wytnesses touching the fraye betwene the garde and Sir John Perotes men,
Thursdaie 27. I despatched Mr. William Killigrew into France.
Frydaie 28. Mr. Henrie Killigrew was despatched into Scotland.

JUNE. ANNO 1574.

Thursdaie 3. I receaved lettres out of France of the deathe of the Frenche Kinge.
Thursdaie 10. I sent lettres to the officers of the Admiraltie for the leviing of mariners.

Mondaie 14. I receaved lettres out of France by young Mr. Killigrew.

Wednesdaie 23. I sent the Earl of Huntingdon his instructions and commission.

Mondaie 28. I receaved lettres from Barwicke from Capten Reade.

Wednesdaie 30. I receaved lettres from Mr. Killigrew and from Barwick with a packet from Mr. Dalle of Montgomeries deathe. Mr. Leighton came out of Fraunce. Her Majestie removed from Grenwiche to Richmond.

JULIE. 1574.

Thursdaie 1. I came to Richmonde. The Lords sat in the Starre Chambre. They conferred with the Frenche Ambassador at the Lord Keper's.

Fridaie 2. I was sent by her Majestie to conferre with Monsieur Boysot.

Saturdaie 3. I came again to the Court.

Wednesdaie 7. I despatched Fergeson the Regent['s] man with lettres to him from the counsell. Her Majestie removed to Windsore from Richemonde.

Fridaie 9. I went to Fulham.

Sondaie 11. I retorned to the Court from Fulham.

Thursdaie 15. Her Majestie came from Windsore to Reading. I receaved, being at Sir Henrie Nevells, a packet of lettres from Sir Valentin Browne.

Fridaie 16. I came to Reading.

Thursdaie 23. Her Majestie removed from Reading to Newellme.

Saterdaie 24. Her Majestie came from Cristofer Browne's to Woodstocke.

Wednesdaie 28. I receaved lettres from the Lord Cobham of the arrivall of the Earl of Oxforde at Dover.

Auguste. Anno 1574.

Mondaie 2. Her Majestie removed from Woodstocke to Langleye. I went to Sir William Drewries.

Tuesdaie 3. I came from Sir William Drewries to Burfourthe. Her Majestie came to Mr. Dutton's.

Wednesdaie 4. Her Majestie came to Sewdleye to the Ladie Shandoies.

Fridaie 6. I receaved lettres from the Lord Tresorer and Parmenter, being at Sir Thomas Chamberlaines.

Saterdaie 7. I came to Gloucester.

Tuesdaie 10. I removed from Gloucester and went to Mr. Richard Arnoldes to Churcham.

Thursdaie 12. I came to Barkelaye Hearne to the Court, and after diner mett my wief at Bristow.

Saterdaie 14. I went to Acton to Sir Nicolas Poines his house. After diner the counsell sat about the Earle of Oxforde. Her Majestie came to Bristowe.

Saterdaie 21. The Queen removed from Bristow to Bathe. The Earl of Oxford came before her Majestie.

Mondaie 23. Her Majestie removed from Bathe to Mr. Bonham's at Haselburie to diner, and after to Mr. Sherington's.

Saterdaie 28. Her Majestie removed to Mr. Brunkerd's to Stocke.

Sondaie 29. I procured Crayford the Scotishman's pasport at her Majesties handes.

Tuesdaie 31. Her Majestie removed from Stocke to Mr. Hauker's.

Septembre. Anno 1574.

Fridaie 3. Her Majestie removed from Mr. Haukers and dyned at my ladie Martein's and came to Wilton. I came to Sarisburie. I sent a packet to Parmenter with a bill to passe under the broad seale enclosed.

Sondaie 5. I sent lettres to the Lord Maior in the behalfe of Mr. Brokenburie.

Mondaie 6. Her Majestie came to Sarisburie.

Thursdaie 9. I went from Sarisburie to my cosin Giffordes. Her Majestie went to Motsom.

Fridaie 10. Her Majestie came to Winchester.

Sondaie 12. The counsell sat.

Mondaie 13. Her Majestie removed to Aberstam, the house of the Lord Marques of Winchester. I went to Abington to Mr. Clarkes.

Tuesdaie 14. I went from Mr. Clarkes to Sir Henrie Wallop's to bed. Her Majestie removed to Odeam.

Wednesdaie 15. I came from Sir Henrie Wallop's to the Court to Odeam, and from thence to Farneham to bed. I communicated with Mr. Henrie Killigrew, who came out of Scotland.

Thursdaye 16. Her Majestie came to Farneham.

Mondaie 20. I removed from Farnham to Fulham.

Fridaie 24. Her Majestie removed from Farnham to Bagshot.

Saterdaie 25. Her Majestie removed from Bagshot to Otelondes. I came from Fulham to Otelandes.

OCTOBRE. ANNO 1574.

Fridaie 1. Her Majestie came from Otelandes to Hampton Court. I sent her Majesties lettres to the Earl of Bedford for his revocacion.

Tuesdaie 5. The Lorde Northe was dispatched into France.

Thursdaie 7. I sent lettres to Sir John Foster touching the Lord of Pharnihurst.

Sondaie 10. I went to Fulham.

Mondaie 11. I came from Fulham.

Tuesdaie 12. I sent the Earl of Leycester's lettre to the Lord Northe to Dover in post. I sent a lettre to Mr. Swavingham

in the behalf of three marchantes of Bristow at the suite of Thomas Nicolas.

Mondaie 18. I receaved lettres from Mr. Killigre with lettres from the Countes of Argile touching the jewells.

Tuesdaie 19. Her Majestie went to Nonsuche.
I went to Fulham with my wief.

Fridaie 22. Her Majestie retorned from Nonsuche.
I came to the Court from Fulham.

Novembre. Anno 1574.

Mondaie 1. Monsr. Swevingham tooke his leave.

Tuesdaie 2. I went to Fullam.

Wednesdaie 3. I went to London.

Thursdaie 4. I came againe to the Court.

Sondaie 7. Mr. Wilson was dispatched towardes Flandres.

Wednesdaie 10. I sent her Majesties lettres and the counsells with my one privat lettres to the Earl of Essex by Mr. Levenet.
I went to Putney.

Thursdaie 11. My Lords of the counsell dined with the Frenche Ambassadour.

Fridaie 12. I came to the Court.

Saterdaie 13. I sent a packet to Mr. Egerton to be convayed to Mr. Wilson, wherein I sent a lettre to the Advocat fiscall.

Tuesdaie 23. Mr. Villiers came to speake with me.

Decembre. Anno 1574.

Thursdaie 2. I receaved lettres from the Lord Northe, being at Dover, retorning out of France.

Thursdaie 16. I went to Batersaye.

Fridaie 17. I retorned to the Court.

Fridaie 24. I went from the Court to Batersaie.

Thursday 30. I came to London from Battersey.

APRILL. ANNO 1575.

Friday 1. I went to the Court and came againe.
Monday 18. I went to the Court at St. Jameses.
Thursday 21. I went from the Court to London.
Satterday 23. I went to the Court at Greenwich.

JUNE. ANNO 1575.

Friday 17. I went from Brocket haule to London.
Sonday 19. I went from London to Brocket haule.
Monday 20. I went from Brocket haule to the Court at Grafton.

JULY. ANNO 1575.

Thursday 7. I went to my brother Wentworth's howse.
Friday 8. I went to the Court.
Monday 18. I went to Warwick and came againe.
Tewsday 19. I went to Coventry and came againe.
Wendnesday 27. I went from Killingworth to Kinsbery, Mr. Knowles his house.
Thursday 28. I went to Tomworth Castell to dinner and from thence to Lychefield.

AUGUST. ANNO 1575.

Wendnesday 3. I went from Lichefield to Stafford.
Monday 8. I went from Stafford to Wolverhampton.
Friday 12. I went to Beudley.
Satterday 13. I went to Worcester.
Monday 15. I went to Odiham.
Satterday 27. I came to the Court at Langley.
Monday 29. I went to the Court at Wodstock.

Wendnesday 31. Monsieur Mauvissiere had accesse to her Majestie.

September. Anno 1575.

Thursday 1. I was sent to Oxford by her Majesty to confer with the Frenche Ambassadour.
Friday 2. I came againe from Oxford to the Court.
Satterday 3. I had conference with the French Ambassadours.
Thursday 8. I went to Oxford with my Lord Treasorer and my Lord of Leycester and came againe.
Sonday 11. I had conference with the French Ambassadours.
Tewsday 13. I went to Mr. Sollicitour's to dinner.

October. Anno 1575.

Tewsday 4. I went from Wodstock to Mr. Sleds howse at Milton.
Satterday 8. I went from Milton to Wikham.
Sonday 9. I went to Sir John Goodwin's.
Monday 10. I went to Odiham.
Tewsday 11. I came from Odiham to Windsore.
Satterday 15. I went to Odiham.
Monday 24. I retorned to the Court.

November. Anno 1575.

Monday 14. I went to Odiham.
Thursday 17. I came againe to the Court.

December. Anno 1575.

Wendnesday 14. I went to London.
Tewsday 20. I returned from London to Hampton Court.

FEBRUARIE. ANNO 1575.

Mondaie 6. Her Majestie removed to White Haule.

MARCHE. ANNO 1575.

Mondaie 5. Mr. Harbart was sent by her Majestie to Flussinge.
Sondaie 18. The Deputies of Holland tooke their leave.
Wendnesdaie 21. Champagny tooke his leave.

MARCHE. ANNO 1576.

Satterdaie 31. Mr. Davison was dispatched into the Low Countries.

APRILL. ANNO 1576.

Sondaie 1. Mr. Randolphe was dispatched to the Frenche Kinge with a speciall message.
Tewsdaie 17. My brother Beale was dispatched into Holland.
Thursday 26. Her Majesty removid to Grenwich.
Friday 27. I went from my howse to Grenwich.

MAY. ANNO 1576.

Wendnesday 9. Her Majestie went to Leycester Howse. I went to my howse at London.
Thursday 10. Her Majestie removid to Sir Thomas Gresham's.
Satterday 12. I went to the Courte, and retourned. Her Majesty removid to my Lord Admirall's.
Tewsday 15. Her Majesty removid to Nonesuch.
Wendnesday 16. I went to the Courte.
Thursday 17. I retourned to my howse. Her Majestie removid to Mr. Caro's at Bedington.
Friday 18. Mr. Davison came out of Flaunders.

Satterday 19. He Majesty retourned to Grenwich.
Sonday 20. I went to Grenwich.
Thursday 24. Mr. Randolphe came to the Courte out of France.
Friday 25. I went to my howse at London.
Satterday 26. I retourned to Grenwich.
Thursday 31. I went to London.

JUNE. ANNO 1576.

Satterday 2. I returned to the Courte.
Tewsday 5. I went to my howse at London.
Thursday 7. I retourned to the Courte.
Mondaie 11. I went to London.
Tewsday 12. I retourned to the Courte.
Friday 22. Sir William Winter was dispatched to the Prince of Aurange.

JULYE. ANNO 1576.

Monday 2. I went to my howse at London.
Thursday 5. I retourned to the Courte.
Sonday 8. I went to my howse.
Monday 9. Her Majestie removid to St. James.
Tewsday 10. I went to St. James.
Monday 16. I went to London.
Tewsday 17. I retourned to the Courte.
Thursday 26. Sir William Winter and Mr. Beale caine out of Zelland.
Sonday 29. I went to my howse at London.
Monday 30. Her Majestie removid to Havering, and dyned at Stratford in Mr. Yonges howse.
I went to Stratford, and retourned to London.
Tewsday 31. I went to my lodging at Mr. Radcliffe's.

AUGUST. 1576.

Tewsday 7. Her Majestie removid to Mr. Stonardes. I went to London.

Friday 10. Her Majestie removid to Mr. Altom's. I went to the Courte, dyned at Mr. Butler's, and went to bed to Sir Thomas Smythes.

Saterday 11. Her Majestie removid to Hallingbury Morley. I wente to my lodging at Starford.

Tewsday 14. Her Majestie removid to Mr. Bashes. I went to my lodginge at Mr. Bashes brothers.

Thursday 16. I went to the Lord Threasorer's at Theobaldes and lay there all night.

Friday 17. I returned to Mr. Bashes.

Monday 20. Her Majestie removid to Hertford. I went to my lodging at Mr. Hudson's.

Friday 24. I went to Brocket haule.

Sonday 26. I went to the Courte at Hertford, and returned agayne to Brocket haule.

Monday 27. Her Majestie removid to Hatfeild.

Thursday 30. Her Majestie went to St. Albon's.

Friday 31. I went to Goramburye to dinner, and to St. Albon's to bed.

SEPTEMBER. ANNO 1576.

Saterday 1. Her Majestie removid to Mr. Sandes. I went to Cheyneys.

Monday 3. Her Majestie removid to Windsore. I went to Mr. Bluntes to bed.

Tewsday 4. I went to Windsore.

Thursday 6. Sir Amyas Poulet tooke his leave to go into Fraunce to supplie Mr. Dale's roome.

Satterday 8. I sent Sir Amyas his dispatche.

Monday 10. Her Majesty removid to Byflet.
I went to my cosin Bardtes to bed.
Tewsday 11. Her Majesty removid to Purford. I went to Purford.
Wendnesday 12. Her Majesty removid to Sir William Moore's.
I went to Shaford.
Friday 14. I went to Odyham.
Saterday 15. Her Majesty removid to Farneham.
Sonday 16. I went to the Courte.
Monday 17. I went to Odiham.
Tewsday 18. I returned to the Courte.
Wendnesday 19. I went to Odyham.
Thursday 20. Her Majesty removid to Odyham.
Satterday 22. Her Majesty removid to Reding.
Monday 24. I went to the Courte.

October. Anno 1576.

Sonday 7. I went to Odiham.
Monday 8. Her Majestie removid to Mr. Cotherer's.
Tewsday 9. I went to Windsore. Her Majestie removid to Windsore.
Friday 12. Her Majestie removid to Hampton Courte. I went to Mr. Nicasius to bed.
Saterday 13. I went to Hampton Courte.
Thursday 18. Mr. Hoddesdon came out of Germany with lettres from the Counte Palatyne.
Fridaye 19. Mr. Capten Chester brought lettres out of Holland.
Tewsday 23. Mr. Stafford came out of Fraunce.
Monsieur Du Pin, being sent to her Majestie from the King of Navarra, came to the Courte.
Wendnesday 24. Doctor Dale came to the Courte.
Thursday 25. Doctor Wilson was dispatched into the low countries.
Friday 26. Monsieur Du Pin tooke his leave.

Sonday 28. I went to London.
Monday 29. I concluded a treatie of truce betwin England and Portingall for three yeres, with the Ambassadour of Portingall.
Tewsday 30. I retourned to the Courte.

NOVEMBER. ANNO 1576.

Sonday 4. The Baron d'Aubigni, sent in ambassadge to her Majestie from the States of the Lowe Countrye, came to the Courte.
Monday 5. Mr. Dr. Dale was sworne Master of the Requests.
Sondaie 11. The Baron d'Aubigny tooke his leave.
Tewsdaie 13. The Baron d'Aubigny had his dispatche.
Wendnesdaie 21. Mr. Gascoigne came out of the Low Countries with lettres.
Fridaie 23. Sir John Smyth was dispatched into Spayne.
Sondaie 25. Monsieur Taffin had audience.

DECEMBER. ANNO 1576.

Tewsdaie 4. I went to London.
Fridaie 7. I returned to the Courte.
Saterday 15. Monsieur Swevinghame came to the Courte.
Thursdaie 20. Mr. Capten Horsey was dispatched to Don Juan d'Austria.
Monday 31. I went to London.

JANUARY. 1576.

Thursday 3. I retourned to the Courte.
Wendnesdaie 16. Mr. Horsey returned out of the Low Countryes.
Friday 18. Mr. Horsey was dispatched again to Don John. Mr. Davison was dispatched to the Prince of Orange.
Mondaie 21. Monsieur Gastel, sent to her Majestie from Don John of Austria, came to the Courte.

Thursday 24. Monsieur Gastell tooke his leave. I went to London.
Satterday 26. I retourned to the Courte.

FEBRUARY. ANNO 1576.

Tewsday 5. Mr. Horsey returned out of the Low Countries.
Thursday 7. Mr. Philippe Sydney dispatched to Themperor.
Monday 11. I went to my howse at London.
Tewsday 12. Her Majestie removid to Whitehaule.
Wendnesday 13. I retourned to the Courte.
Satterday 16. I went to my howse.
Monday 18. I went to the Courte, and returned to my howse.
Wendnesday 20. Monsieur de Famar, sent from the Prince of Orange, came to the Courte and had audience. I returned to the Courte.
Thursday 21. Mr. Sydney departed. I went to my howse.
Friday 22. I retournid to the Courte.
Monday 25. I went to my howse.
Tewsdaye 26. I retournid to the Courte. Her Majestie went to [a] my Lord of Leycester's howse.

MARCHE. ANNO 1576.

Monday 11. I went to the Courte. I went to Leycester howse.

APRILL. ANNO 1577.

Monday 8. A gentleman came to her Majestie with lettres from the King of Denmark.
Sondaie 14. The King of Denmarkes gentleman was dispatched.
Mondaie 15. I went to my howse.

[a] Blank in MS.

MAYE. ANNO 1577.

Mondaie 6. I went to Grenwich.
Tewsdaie 14. I went to my howse at London.
Satterdaie 18. I sent lettres to Doctor Wilson by the merchauntes poste.
Satterdaie 25. I went to the Courte at Grenwich.

JUNE. ANNO 1577.

Satterday 8. Mr. Philip Sydney came to the Courte.
Sonday 9. Monsieur Prayner thEmperour's ambassadour came to the Courte.
Tewsday 18. The Baron of Prayner tooke his leave.
Satterday 22. The Viscount of Gant came to the Courte.
Wendnesday 26. Mr. Rogers was dispatched.[a]

JULYE. ANNO 1577.

Satterdaye 6. The Viscount of Gaunt tooke his leave of her Majestie.
Satterdaye 13. Doctor Willson returned out of Flaunders.
Friday 19. The Court removed from Greenwiche to Richemond.
Satterday 20. Mr. D. Rogers and Mr. Jenkinson were dispatched into Denmarke.
Sondaye 28. Sir John Smithe returned from Spayne unto the Courte.
Mondaye 29. I receaved a lettre from Mr. George Winter beinge one the seas abōut the Ile of Wight.

AUGUST. 1577.

Satterdaye 3. Mr. Davison had his dispatche into the Lowe Countries.

[a] There are three unintelligible ciphers here.

Tuesdaye 6. Monsieur Famars came to her Majestie from the Prince of Orange.

Mondaye 12. Mr. Fremmige came out of Flaunders.

Wednesdaye 21. Mr. Beale dispatched into Germanye.

Fridaye 23. The Queenes Majestie removed from Richemond to Otlondes.

Fridaye 30. I went to Mr. Barretes and hunted in Windsor Parkes.

Satterdaye 31. I returned to Otlandes with my wife.

SEPTEMBER. A.D. 1577.

Wedsondaye 4. The Queen's Majestie went to my Lord Admirall's house.

Thursdaye 12. The Queen's Majestie dyned at the Duchesse of Somersettes house.

Sondaye 22. The Marques of Havericke, ambassadour from the States, arrived at the Court and had audience.

Mondaye 23. The Queen's Majestie removed from Oteland to Windsore Castle. I was sent by her Majestye to the Ambassadour lyinge at Stanes.

Tuesdaye 24. The ambassadour came from Stanes to the Courte at Windsore, and went from thence to his lodginge at Eaton Colledge. Capitaine Furbusher arrived at the Court, beinge returned from Cataia.

Wedsondaye 25. I with certaine of the Councell went to visit the Marques of Haverike, B[elgian] ambassadour, at his lodging in Eaton Colledge.

Fridaye 27. The Marques of Havericke, ambassadour, had audience.

Satterdaye 28. The Ladye Polixena arrived at the Courte. I with my Lord of Leycester and my Lord Chamberlaine went from her Majestie to the Marques his lodginge at Eaton Colledge.

Sondaye 29. The Marques came unto the Courte in the morninge.

OCTOBER. 1577.

Sondaye 6. The Marques had audience, dyned with the Lordes in the Councell Chamber. The Lord Chauncellour of Ireland arrived at the Courte.

Mondaye 28. Mr. Jenkinson returned out of Denmarke, and brought lettres from Doctour Rogers.

NOVEMBER. 1577.

Sondaye 3. The Ambassadour Lebaulxin, come from the Frenche King, had audience.

Satterdaye 9. I sent lettres with a commission for pyrattes to the Lord Cobham.

Satterdaye 16. Lebausxin, the Frenche Ambassadour, was dispatched.

The Lord of Hunsden was sworne Counsellour.

Mondaye 18. I sent lettres to Mr. Robert Bowes, with instructions, beinge dispatched into Scotland to remaine there agente, with lettres to the Regente.

Satterdaye 23. I went to Odiham.

Fridaye 29. I returned from Odiham.

DECEMBER. 1577.

Sondaye 1. Monsieur Gastell, ambassadour from Don John, arrived at the Court, and had audience. Monsieur Sigure, Ambassadour from the King of Navarre, had audience the same daye.

Satterdaye 7. Doctor Rogers returned out of Germanye.

Mondaye 9. Monsieur Gastell was dispatched to Don John.

Tuesdaye 10. Her Majestie removed from Windesore to Hampton Courte.

Wedsondaye 11. Monsieur Sigure was dispatched to the Kinge of Navarre.

Thursdaye 12. The Marques of Havery tooke his leave of her Majestie and my Lordes.

Satterdaye 21. Mr. Wilkes was dispatched to the King of Spaine.

Mondaye 23. Mr. Leighton was dispatched to the States in the Lowe Countries and to Don John.

Tuesdaye 24. I went from the Court to my house in London.

Satterdaye 28. I returned to the Courte.

Mondaye 30. I went from the Court to my house in London.

JANUARYE. 1577.

Thursdaye 2. I and the Lord Chauncellour did sitt about Iryshe causes.

Satterdaye 4. I with the Lord Chauncellour of Irland went to the Lord Keeper about Iryshe causes.

Sondaye 5. I returned to the Courte.

Thursdaye 23. Monsieur Famars came from the States to the Courte, and to remayne here as agent for the States.

FEBRUARY. 1577.

Satterday 1. Mr. Daniell Rogers returned out of Germanye, and with him D. Beutrecke, servaunt to Duke Casimyre.

Mondaye 3. Mr. Randolphe was dispatched into Scottlande.

Tuesdaye 4. I went to London.

Wednesday 5. Mr. Captain Leighton returned out of the Lowe Countries. I returned from London to the Courte.

Thursdaye 6. Mr. Beale returned out of Germanye. Doctour Beutrecke had audience.

Friday 7. Mr. Leighton was againe dispatched to the Prince of Orange and States of the Lowe Countries.

Sondaye 9. I returned to the Courte.

Tuesdaye 11. I went from the Court to London.
Sondaye 16. Mr. Wilkes returned out of Spaine.
Satterdaye 22. A messenger came from the Marques of Brandeburghe to her Majesty.
Sondaye 23. Mr. Captain Leyton returned owt of the Lowe Countryes.
Tuesday 25. The Courte removed to Puttney. I wente to London.
Thursdaye 27. The Queen's Majestie removed to Leicester House.
Fridaye 28. I wente to the Courte.

MARCHE. 1578.

Satterdaye 1. I went to the Court at Leycester House.
Mondaye 3. The Queen's Majestie removed to Grenwiche.
Wednesdaye 5. I came to the Court, and returned againe that day to London.
Fridaye 7. Mr. Rogers and D. Bewtreke were dispatched into the Lowe Countries and into Germanye.
Sondaye 9. I returned to the Courte.
Fridaye 14. I went to London.
Satterdaye 15. I returned from London.
Sondaye 16. Don Bernardino di Mendoza, Ambassador from the King of Spaine, had audience.
Wednesday 19. Landeschadius, Ambassador from the Duke of Bipons, had audience.
Thursdaye 20. Don Bernardin Mendoza had audience of the Lordes.
Fridaye 21. The Marques of Haverech, Ambassadour from the States, had audience.
Mondaye 24. Don Bernard Mendoza had audience of her Majesty. I went to London.
Tuesday 25. I returned from London.

Thursdaye 27. Landischadius was dispatched to the Duke of Bipons.
Fridaye 28. The Marques of Havereck had audience.
Monday 31. I went to London.

APRILL. 1578.

Tuesdaye 1. Don Bernard de Mendoza had audience.
Fridaye 4. Mr. Wilkes dispatched to Don John.
Sondaye 6. I returned to the Courte.
Thursdaye 10. Don Bernard Mendoza had audience. The Marquis of Haverech tooke his leave of her Majestie.
Sondaye 13. Mr. Randolphe returned out of Scotlande.
Satterday 19. I went to London.
Mondaye 21. I returned from London.
Thursdaye 24. I went to London.
Satterdaye 26. I returned from London to the Courte.
Sondaye 27. Monsieur Mavisieures had audience.
Tuesdaye 29. Mr. Wilkes returned out of the Lowe Countries from Don Juan.

MAY. 1578.

Thursday 1. Mons. Gondy, sent from the French King, came to the Courte and had audience.
Sondaye 4. Monsieur Mavissieres and Monsieur Gondy had audience.
Tuesdaye 6. I went to London. I sent lettres to Mr. Davison by Mr. Rowland Yorke, who was also dispatched to D. Casimire. The Queen's Majestie removed to the Lord Compton's house at Totnam.
Wednesdaye 7. I went to the Court at my Lord Compton's, and lodged at Mr. Wrothes. The Queen's Majestie removed to

Theobaldes. Monsieur Gondy was dispatched home into Fraunce.

Thursdaye 8. I went to Theobaldes.

Satterdaye 10. Her Majestie removed to Mr. Bashes house. I went with the Courte to Mr. Bashes.

Mondaye 12. I went to London. The Queen's Majestie removed to Sir Thomas Henneage his house.

Tuesdaye 13. Mr. Waterhouse returned out of Ireland, and brought lettres from the Lord Deputie and the counsell there. Her Majestie removed to my Lord of Leycester's house at Wainsted.

Wednesdaye 14. I went to the Courte at Wainsted, and returned againe to London.

Fridaye 16. Mr. Stafford was dispatched to the French King and Monsieur. Her Majestie removed from Wainsted to Grenwiche.

Mondaye 19. I went to London.

Thursdaye 22. I returned to the Courte.

Sondaye 25. I went to London.

Mondaye 26. I went to the Courte.

Tuesday 27. I went to London.

Wednesdaye 28. I returned to the Courte.

Thursdaye 29. I sent her Majesties lettres and declaration to the King of Portugall.

Fridaye 30. I went to London.

Satterdaye 31. I returned to the Courte. The Lord Chauncellour of Ireland was dispatched with lettres to the Lord Deputy and diverse others.

JUNE. 1578.

Mondaye 2. I went to London.

Tuesday 3. I returned to the Court at night.

Friday 6. I went to London.

Sondaye 8. I returned from London.
Mondaye 9. I went to London.
Fridaye 13. The Lord Cobham tooke his leave of her Majestie, being sent into the Lowe Countries.

(*There are no entries from* 14 *June* 1578 *to* 25 *March* 1580.)

MARCHE. 1580.

Tewsday 29. I went to Barnellms, and returnid to the Courte.

APRILL. 1580.

Wendnesday 20. Mr. Bowes dispatched with instruccions into Scotland.
Sondaye 24. I went to Barnellmes.
Monday 25. I returned to the Courte.
Friday 29. I went to Barnellmes.

MAY. 1580.

Mondaie 2. I returned to the Courte.
Wendnesdaie 4. Monsieur du Vray, sent from Monsieur, came to the Courte and had audience.
Thursdaie 12. I went to Barnellmes.
Fridaie 13. I returned to the Courte. A packet from Mr. Stokes at Bruges, la Noue overthrowne.
Mondaye 16. Monsieur de Vray tooke his leave.
Tewsday 17. I went to Barnellmes.
Wendnesday 18. I returned to the Courte.
Thursdaye 19. I went to Barnellmes.
Friday 20. I returnid to the Courte.

JUNE. 1580.

Thursdaie 2. Monsieur du Plessis came to the Courte and had audience.
Thursdaie 16. I went to Barnellms.
Fridaie 17. I went to the Starre Chamber, and returnid to Barnellms to bed.
Saterday 18. I returnid to the Courte.
Tewsdaie 21. Mr. Stafford dispatched to Monsieur.
Friday 24. The Prince of Condé came to the Courte.
Tewsdaie 28. I went to Barnellmes.

JULY. 1580.

Saterdaie 2. I returnid to the Courte.
Mondaie 4. I went to Barnellms.
Tewsdaie 5. I returnid to the Courte.
Fridaie 8. I went to Barnellmes.
Saterdaie 9. I returnid to the Courte.
Tewsdaie 12. Her Majesty removid to Oteland. I went to Barnellms.
Thursdaie 14. I returnid to the Courte.
Wendnesdaie 20. I went to Barnellmes.
Fridaie 22. I returnid to the Courte.
Thursdaie 28. I went to Barnellmes.
Saterdaie 30. I returnid to the Courte.

AUGUST. 1580

Mondaie 1. I went to Barnellmes.
Wendnesdaie 3. I returnid to the Courte.
Thursdaie 11. Mr. Stafford returnid out of Fraunce.
Tewsdaie 16. Her Majesty went to Sunninghill. I went to Barnellmes.

Saterdaie 20. Her Majesty returnid from Sunninghill. I returnid to the Courte.
Thursdaie 25. I went to Barnellmes.
Fridaie 26. I returnid to the Courte.
Wendnesdaie 31. Mr. Bowes dispatched into Scotland.

September. 1580.

Mondaie 5. I went to Barnellmes.
Fridaie 9. I returnid to the Courte.
Mondaie 12. I went to Barnellms.
Tewsdaie 13. Her Majesty removid to Richmond.
Wendnesdaie 14. I returnid to the Courte.
Fridaie 16. Monsr. de Buy, sent from Mons., came to the Courte and had audience.
Wendnesdaie 21. Mons. du Buy took his leave.

October. 1580.

Fridaie 7. Mr. Stafford dispatched into Fraunce.
Saterdaie 8. Mr. Bowes revoked out of Scotland.
Tewsdaie 25. I went to London.
Fridaie 28. I returned to the Courte.
Mondaie 31. Mr. Bowes sent for.

December. 1580.

(*No entries this month till the 27th.*)

Tewsdaie 27. Mr. Stafford returnid out of Fraunce.
Fridaie 30. Brune dispatched into Flaunders.
Saterdaie 31. Mr. Fenton came out of Ireland.

January. 1580.

Fridaie 6. Mr. Randolph dispatched into Scotland.
Wendnesdaie 11. Th'Ambassador of Savoy had audience.

Friday 13. Walter Williams dispatched into Flaunders.
Monday 16. The Pa[r]lement began.

FEBRUARY. 1580.

Thursday 16. Marchaumont arrived at Dover.

APRILL. 1581.

Sunday 16. This day the Prince Daulphin and the rest of the Commissioners landed at Dover.

Tewsday 18. The Commissioners came to Canterbury.

Wednesday 19. The Mareschall Cosse came to Sittingborne, and the rest of the Commissioners to Rochester.

Thursday 20. This day the Commissioners were receaved at Gravesend by the Earl of Hartford, &c. and from thence conveyed to London, landing at Sommerset Howse, where they were welcommed by the Earl of Worcester, &c.

Monday 24. The Commissioners had audience at 3 in the afternoone, being conducted to the Court by the Lord Admyrall, &c.

Tewsday 25. The Commissioners dyned with the Queen, conducted to the Court by the Earl of Bedford, &c.

Wednesday 26. This day the Lord Threasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Admyrall, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Leycester, Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Walsingham were sent to conferre with the Commissioners, at which tyme they acquainted them with their commissions.

Thursday 27. The Commissioners dyned with my Lord of Leycester, where hir Majestie was present, and used some longe speach to them, opening the whole course of proceading in the mariage cause, in presence of Lords Threasurer, Chamberlain, Admirall, Earls of Bedford, Leycester, Vicechamberlayn, Mr. Secretary Walsingham.

Sunday 30. The Commissioners dyned with the Lord Threasurer, at what tyme the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Admyrall, &c. had conference with them.

MAY. 1581.

Monday 1. The Ambassadors had accesse to hir Majestie, and sawe the bearebaytinge.

Tewsday 2. The Lord Threasourer, Lord Admirall, Lord Chamberlain, Earls of Leycester and Bedford, Mr. Vicechamberlain and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, appointed to treat with the Commissioners, went to Sommerset howse and shewed their commissions.

Thursday 4. The Commissioners had accesse to hir Majestie, and supped with the Lord Chamberlain.

Saterday 6. The Commissioners went to Hampton Court, accompanied with the Earls of Leycester and Penbrooke, &c.

Sunday 7. Commissioners had accesse to hir Majestie, accompanied with the Earl of Northumberland.

Friday 12. I went to the Commissioners.

Saterday 13. The Lord Thresourer, Lord Chamberlain, &c. went to Sommerset Howse.

JUNE. 1581.

Friday 9. This day the P[resident] Brisson, Pynart and Mauvaissier came to confer about the precedentship in the treaty.

Saterday 10. This day Lansack, la Motthe, Brisson, Pynart and du Vray conferred with the Lord Threasurer abowt the precedentshippe, and agreed that hir Majesties Commissioners should be first placed.

Sunday 11. This day the treaty was signed.

Monday 12. The Commissioners came to take their leave.

Tewsday 13. The Commissioners receaved lettres from the King. I and the Lord Threasurer went to them.

Wednesday 14. I went to the Commissioners. This day they departed from London.

Thursday 15. I came from Barnelmes.

Saterday 17. This day the Spanish Ambassadour had audience.

Tewsday 20. The Court removed to Greenwich. I went to Barnelmes.

Friday 23. I came to the Court.

Friday 30. I went to London, and came againe the same day.

JULY. 1581.

Sunday 2. I went to London, and came againe the same day.

Monday 3. Mr. Dillon dispatched into Irland.

Wednesday 5. The Court removed to Mr. Stoner's. I went to Barnelmes.

Saterday 8. The Court came to Greenwiche.

Monday 24. Went to London.

Tewsday 25. Tooke my leave at the Court, and departed to Gravesend.

SEPTEMBER. 1581.

Thursday 21. I came to the Court at Greenwich being returned out of Fraunce.

Friday 22. The Court removed to Nonesuch, and I went to Barnelmes.

Saterday 23. I came to Nonesuche.

Tewsday 26. I came to Barnelmes.

October. 1581.

Sunday 1. I returned to Nonesuche.
Wednesday 4. I came to Barnelmes. The Court removed to Richemond.
Thursday 5. I came to Richemond.
Thursday 19. I went to London, and returned the same day.
Saterday 28. Mr. Errington despatched into Scotland.
Tewsday 31. The Duke d'Anjou landed.

November. 1581.

Thursday 2. The Duke came to the Court.
Tewsday 7. Mr. Beale despatched to the Queen of Scotes.
Wednesday 15. The Parlement proroged.
Friday 17. The Court removed to Whitehall. I went to London.
Tewsday 21. I returned to the Court.
Wednesday 29. Pynart had audience.

December. 1581.

Sunday 3. I went to London.
Sunday 10. Mr. Beale returned from Sheffeild.
Thursday 21. I went to London.
Friday 22. I returned to Court.
Sunday 24. I went to my howse at London.
Monday 25. I returned to the Court, and went to my howse the same day.
Thursday 28. I returned to the Court.

January. 1581.

Monday 15. The Spanish Ambassador had audience before my lords of the Councell.

FEBRUARY. 1581.

Thursday 1. The Court removed to Rochester. Monsieur departed.

Friday 2. I went to Rochester.

Saterday 3. Hir Majestie removed to Sittingborne. I went to Mr. Cromer's to bed.

Monday 5. Hir Majestie removed to Cantorbury. I went to Cantorbury to bed.

Wednesday 7. Monsieur departed from Cantorbury to imbarke at Sandwich. I wayted on him some part of the way, and returned to Cantorbury.

Sunday 11. My Lord Chamberlain and I went to see the workes at Dover.

Monday 12. I returned to Cantorbury.

Tewsday 13. Hir Majestie came back to Feversham.

Wednesday 14. Hir Majestie removed to Rochester.

Friday 16. Hir Majestie removed to Dertford. I came to London.

Saterday 17. Hir Majestie came to Greenwich. I went to Barnelmes, and from thence to the Court.

Wednesday 21. The Spanish Ambassador had audience.

Monday 26. The Earl of Leycester returned out of the Lowe Cuntryes.

Tewsday 27. I went to London.

MARCHE. 1581.

Saterday 24. Mr. Grenill dispatched to Flaunders.

APRIL. 1582.

Monday 2. I went to Barnelmes.

Saterday 7. Mr. Grenill returned of the Lowe Countryes. I came to the Court.

Sunday 29. Alost taken.

MAY. 1582.

Wednesday 2. Monsieur de Bacqueville and du Baix came from the D[uke].

Friday 4. I went to Barnelmes.

Sunday 6. The Ambassador of Denmarke had audience. I returned to the Court.

JUNE. 1582.

Thursday 28. The Lord Willoughby dispatched to Denmarke. I went to Barnelmes.

JULY. 1582.

Monday 9. La Rocque, Ambassador from the King of Navarre, tooke leave.

Tewsday 10. I went to Barnelmes.

Thursday 19. Zolcher dispatched into Germany.

AUGUST. 1582.

Monday 27. I went to Barnelmes.

Thursday 30. Sir George Cary dispatched into Scotland.

Friday 31. The Count Palatyne's sonne had audience.

SEPTEMBER. 1582.

Saterday 1. The Court removed to Purfort to my Lord Admiral's howse.

Sunday 2. I went to Purfort.

Monday 3. I went to Barnelmes.

Saterday 8. I returned to Court.
Sunday 9. The Ambassador of Polonia had audience.
Tewsday 18. The Ambassador of Polonia tooke leave.
Wednesday 19. A gentleman from the King of Navarre had audience.
Thursday 20. The Court removed to Windsore.

OCTOBER. 1582.

Tewsday 9. Sir George Carey returned out of Scotland.

NOVEMBER. 1582.

Sunday 4. The Ambassador of Russia had audience.
Saterday 17. Monsieur Mallet came from Geneva.
Thursday 21. I went to Barnelmes.
Saterday 23. I returned to the Court.
Thursday 28. La Motte had audience.

DECEMBER. 1582.

Wednesday 12. La Motte departed from the Court towardes Scotland.
Saterday 15. Mr. Davison dispatched.
Monday 17. I went to Barnelmes, and from thence to Greenwich with my Lord of Leycester and Mr. Vicechamberlain to conferre with the Ambassador of Russia.
Wednesday 19. I came to Court.
Tewsday 25. I went to Barnelmes.
Satterday 29. I returned to the Court from Barnelmes.

JANUARY. 1582.

Monday 7. Mr. Colvile came from the King of Scotes.
Tewsday 8. The Duke of Lennox had accesse unto hir Majestie. Mr. Colvile had audience.

Thursday 17. Mr. Colvile had audience and tooke his leave.
Monday 21. Mr. Colvile departed.

FEBRUARY. 1582.

Tewsday 5. I went to Barnelmes.
Monday 11. The Queen came to Barnelmes.
Thirsday 14. I returned to the Court.
Sunday 24. La Motte had audience, returning out of Scotland.

MARCHE. 1582.

Saterday 2. Mr. Darcy returned from the Low Cuntryes. I went to London.
Sunday 3. I returned to the Court.
Tewsday 5. I went to London.
Tewsday 12. I went to Barnelmes.
Sunday 17. Mr. Sommers dispatched into the Low Cuntryes.
Monday 18. I went to London.
Monday 25. I returned to the Court.

APRIL. 1583.

Saterday 6. Mr. Beale dispatched to the Queen of Scotes.
Sunday 7. Du Baix came from Monsieur.
Monday 8. I went to London.
Friday 12. Mr. Davison returned out of Scotland.
Wednesday 17. I went to London.
Saterday 20. Mr. Sommers came out of the Low Cuntreyes.

NOTES OF LETTERS SENT AND RECEIVED.

DECEMBER. 1570.

Letters received from—3rd, Earl of Shrewsbury; 4th, Mr. Randolphe.

JANUARY. 1571.

Letters received from—11th, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Rothermaker, Mr. Randolphe, Fraunces Milles, Sir Walter Myldmay, and my wife; 20th, England.

Letters sent to—2nd, Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecill, Sir Walter Myldmay, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Kylligrewe, my brother Carue, my wife; 7th, my wife; 11th, Sir Henry Neville, my wife; 15th, Sir William Pykeringe, my wife, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Randolphe, the Regent, Mr. Kyllegrew, the Archbp. of Canterbury; 21st, England; 22nd, The Palsgrave; 29th, The Queen, my Lord of Leicester, Mr. Secretary, Sir Walter Myldmay, Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Henneage, my brother Carewe, Sir Henry Nevell, Sir William Pykeringe, Mr. Haddon, Mr. Drewe Drurie, Mr. Doddington, my wife, my sister Tamworth, Mr. Wotton, my cousin Walsingham, Mr. Kyllegrewe, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Tirwit, my Lord Buckhurst, my Lord of Rutland, my Lord of Huntingdon, the Bishop of London.

FEBRUARY. 1571.

Letters received from—3rd, Sir William Cicille, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Dyar, Mr. Kylligrewe, the Bishop of Winchester, my wife, Mr. Blount, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Milles; 5th, Earl

of Sussex, Sir Thomas Wroth; 13th, Lord Buckhurste, Sir Walter Myldmay, Mr. Cavalcant, my wife, Mr. Henneage, Fraunces Milles; 21st, The Queen, Sir William Cecill, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Drewe Drewrie, Sir William Pykering, Mr. Henneage, my Lady of Bedford, Sir Henry Nevel, my wife, Mr. Kylligrewe, Mylles, Mr. Aubery, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Wotton, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Mather.

Letters sent to—1st, Lord Buckhurste, my Lord Graye, my wife, Mr. Kyllegrewe, Sir William Cicill; 3rd, Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cicill, Mr. Blunt, Mr. Dyar, my wife, Mr. Kylligrewe, Mr. Mylles, Mr. Doddington, my Lord of Rutland; 9th, My wife, Sir William Cecill, the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Bedford, Mr. Henneage, my Lady Cecill, Sir Walter Myldmay, the Lord Keeper, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Hastinges, Mr. Kyllegrewe; 12th, Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecille, Sir Walter Mildmaye, Sir Henry Nevelle, Mr. Creswell, Mr. Randolphe, Captain Horsey, my wife, Mr. Hatton, Lord Buckhurste; 18th, Mr. Randolphe, Sir Henry Norreys, Mr. Manners, Sir Francis Knowls, Mr. Cobham, Sir William Cecille, Sir Henry Nevel, Mr. Henneage, Captain Franchatto, Mr. Dyar, Fraunces Mylles, my Lord of Leicester, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Cave, my wife; 23rd, Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecille, Sir Walter Mildmaye, Mr. Randolphe, my wife; 25th, Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecille, the Earl of Huntington, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Killigrewe, Mr. Cosin, my wife.

MARCH. 1571.

Letters received from—7th, The council generally, Mr. Secretary, my Lord of Leicester, my Lord of Sussex, my Lord Clynton, my Lord of Bedford, Mr. Randolphe, Fraunces Milles, my

wife, Mr. Roger Manners, Mr. Horsey, Sir Henry Norreys, my Lord Graye, Mr. Denney; 10th, Sir William Cecille, my Lord of Leicester, Sir Walter Myldmaye, Mr. Henneage, my wife, Cardinal Chastillon, Mr. Carey, Mr. Kyllegrewe, Fraunces Milles, Mr. Mather, Mr. Rodulphe, Mr. Bycknar; 13th, The Palsgrave; 20th, The Queen, my Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knowles, Mr. Henry Knowlls, Sir Henry Nevelle, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Killegrewe, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Sealinger, Milles, Mr. Waterhowse, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Nicasius Yetsweirt, Mr. Antonio Giustiniano, Mr. Manners, Mr. Creswelle, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Radermaker, Mr. Creswelle, Mr. Cosin, my sister Tamworth, Mr. Yetsweirt, Mr. Cary, Mr. Drewe Drury, Mr. Randolphe, the Bishop of London; 29th, The Queen, my Lord of Burleigh, my Lord of Leicester, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Sommer, Sir Henry Norreys.

Letters sent to—5th, The Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecille, Mr. Henneage, my Lord of Sussex, Mr. Kyllegrewe, Mr. Blount, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Beale, my wife, Fronchotto; 8th, The Earl of Leicester, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Henneage, my Lord of Bedford, my Lady of Bedford, my Lord Clynton; 12th, Lord Burleigh, Mr. Henneage, Sir Henry Norreys, Mr. Cary, Mr. Doddington, Francis Milles; 14th, Earl of Leicester, Lord Burghley, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevel, my Lord Gray, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Henneage, Mr Kyllegrewe, Francis Milles, my Lady Mildmay, Sir Walter, the Doctors of the Arches, my Lady Burleigh; 19th, Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Sussex, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir William Pykering, Sir Henry Norreys, my Lord of Buckhurst, the Bishop of London, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Drewe Drury, Mr. Killegrewe, Mr. Denney, Mr. Mather; 27, Earl of Leicester, Lord Burleigh, Fraunces Milles.

April. 1571.

Letters received from—1st, the Queen, my Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Killegrewe, Sir Thomas Cotton, Sir Henry Nevell, Mr. Harbart, Milles; 13th, The Queen, my Lord of Burleigh, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Mather, Mr. Killigrewe, Madame Sertilian, Mr. Harbart, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Bedford, the Bishop of London, Mr. Randolphe, Milles, Captain Cooborn, Mr. Drury Marchalle, Sir Henry Norreys, Mr. Drewe Drewry; 18th, The Queen, my Lord of Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Henneage, the Earl of Sussex, Lord Buckhurste, Sir Henry Norreys, Sir Rob. Terwit, Mr. Rob. Drewrey, Mr. Geferay Bates, Mr. Blont, Mr. Denney, Mr. Harbart, Mr. Yetsweirt; 24th, The Queen, my Lord of Burleigh; 29th, England; 30th, Mr. Cobham, in Spain.

Letters sent to—2nd, My Lord Burleigh, my Lord of Leicester, Mr. Henneage; 5th, My Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Sussex, my Lord of Buckhurste, Mr. Henneage, Sir T. Cotton, D. Wilson, my cousin Walsingham; 11th, My Lord of Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Killegrewe, Mr. Blont, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Killigrewe; 23rd, My Lord of Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Bedford, the Countess of Bedford, the Earl of Sussex, Sir Thomas Smith, my Lady Throgmorton, Sir H. Nevelle, Mr. Killegrewe, Mr. Creswelle, Mr. H. Knowles, Mr. Waterhowse, Mr. Selenger, Sir H. Norreys, Mr. Hudson, Sir Robert Terwit, my Lord of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir An. Just, Judge Weston, Mr. Randolphe, the Lord Regent of Scotland, Sir William Drewry, Mr. Sampson, Mr. Harbart, Mr. Denny, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Rader, Mr. Milles, the Bishop of London, Sir Walter Mildmaye, Mr. Henneage, and his wife, Mr. Drewe Drewry, my Ladies Pagett and Mildmay, Mrs. Tamworth; 28th, Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Henneage.

MAY. 1571.

Letters received from—4th, Francis Milles; 8th, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Killegrewe, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Milles; 10th, the Queen, Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Henneage, my Lord of Buckhurst, Sir Henry Norreys, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Robert Drury, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Thomas Walsingham, Mr. Blont, Mr. Wiseman, Mr. Harbart, Mr. Waterhowse, Mr. Killegrewe, Milles; 16th, The Queen, Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester; 20th, Count Lodovic.

Letters sent to—13th Archbp. of Casels; 15th, Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, the Bishop of London, Sir George Peckham, Sir Walter Mildmay, my Lord of Buckhurst, Mr. Thomas Walsingham, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Doddington, Milles; 20th, My Lord of Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Henneage; 25th, My Lord of Burleigh, the Earls of Leicester and Sussex, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Henneage, Francis Milles; 26th, My Lord of Burleigh, my Lord of Leicester, Mr. Peckham, Mr. Henry Killigrewe, Milles.

JUNE. 1571.

Letters received from—24th, Mr. Wotton, Fraunces Milles.

Letters sent to—2nd, Sir William Drewrie, Mr. Randolphe, 7th, My Lord of Burghley, Mr. Killigrewe, Mr. D. Auberie, Mr. Wotten, Mr. Thomas Walsingham, Mr. D. Griffille, Mr. D. Lewis, Mr. Wood, Mr. Dingley, Mr. Milles; 20th, My Lord of of Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Bishop of London, my Lord of Buckhurst, Sir Walter Mildmaye, my Lady of Bedford, Sir Francis Knowles, the Earl of Sussex, Sir Henry Norris, Mr. Hennege, Mr. Justice Weston, Mr. Yetsweirt, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Harbard, Mr. Cary, Mr. Acerbo Velu-

telli, Mr. Killegrew, Mr. Milles; 25th, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Hennege, Mr. Nicholas Sandes, Mr. Bodleigh, Sir Thomas Leighe, Francis Milles.

JULY. 1571.

Letters received from—7th, The Count Palatine; 11th, Mr. Henneage, Sir Walter Mildmay, Francis Milles; 14th, The Queen, my Lord Burghley, my Lord Leicester, Fraunces Milles, Sir Humphray Gilbert; 17th, The Earl of Leicester, Mr. Dodington, my Lord of Buckhurst; 24th, Francis Milles, Mr. Wotton.

Letters sent to—1st, Mr. Henneage, Francis Milles; 11th, My Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Henneage; 30th, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Hennege, Mr. Cary, the Earl of Sussex, Lord Buckhurst, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Dodington, Sir Walter Mildmaye, Sir Henry Nevel, the Bishop of London and the rest of the Judges, Francis Milles.

AUGUST. 1571.

Letters sent to—3rd, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Killegrewe; 7th, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Markham, Mr. Henneage, Mr. Dodington, Francis Milles; 12th, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Henneage, Francis Milles, Mr. Killegrewe; 13th, Mr. Dodington, Mr. Martin Jacomo; 20th, Mr. Dodington, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Dru Drewrie, my cousin Broket, Mr. Blont, Francis Milles; 25th, Lord Burghley.

OCTOBER. 1571.

Letters received from—3rd, Lord Burghley.

NOVEMBER. 1571.

Letters sent to—9th, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, and others.

DECEMBER. 1571.

Letters sent to—7th, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester and others: 31st, Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester and others.

JANUARY. 1574.

Letters received from—1st, the Lord Treasurer; 4th, The Earl of Essex; 5th, Ireland; 8th, France; 16th, Berwick, France; 21st, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 23rd, Sir Val. Browne, Treasurer of Berwick; 28th, France; 29th, Scotland.

Letters sent to—6th, The Regent of Scotland; 13th, Mr. Gillman; 15th, The Mayor and Searcher of Dover; 18th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 25th, Sir Hen. Sidney, president of Wales, the Commissioners for the Musters in Staffordshire and Derbyshire; 26th, The Lord Treasurer.

FEBRUARY. 1574.

Letters received from—8th, Prince of Orange, and Governor of Antwerp; 15th, France; 19th, Guernsey, France; 24th, France, the Earl of Huntingdon.

Letters sent to—2nd, Lord Deputy of Ireland; 3rd, France; 8th, Wyndebanke, Dr. Wilson, the Queen's Attorney, Peter Bosket, Mr. Raffe Lane; 13th, Scotland; 25th, The Earl of Leicester; 26th, The Lord President of York, Sir Raffe Sadler; 27th, The Lord President of York.

March. 1574.

Letters received from—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 4th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 5th, France; 12th, France; 23rd, The ambassador in France, the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Letters sent to—1st, Lord Scrope, Sir John Foster, Sir Valentine Browne; 16th, Berwick; 18th, France; 30th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Earl of Essex, Berwick, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

April. 1574.

Letters received from—4th, Berwick, the Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, France; 7th, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, The Earl of Essex; 15th, Mr. Dale, the ambassador of Mantua; 16th, Sir W. Drurie, Marshal of Berwick; 19th, Mr. Dale; 21st, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 25th, Berwick, Walter Williams; 26th, Berwick; 27th, Mr. Dale; 29th, Flanders.

Letters sent to—8th, The ambassador in France; 11th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland and the Earl of Desmond; 12th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, Sir V. Browne; 26th, Mr. Crowmer; 28th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 29th, The Treasurer of Berwick; 30th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland.

May. 1574.

Letters received from—6th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 9th, France, Antwerp; 11th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, Berwick; 22nd, Mr. Dale; 25th, France; 27th, the Earl of Essex, 29th, France.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Essex; 4th, The Regent of Scotland; 7th, France; 12th, France; 18th, Sir Valentine Browne, the Regent of Scotland, Lord Kilseithe, the Earl of Shrewsbury;

22nd, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 22nd, Sir V. Browne; 23rd, France.

JUNE. 1574.

Letters sent to—2nd, France, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 4th, The Regent of Scotland, Mr. Killigrew; 7th, The Lord President of York; 8th, The Countess of Montgomerie, Mr. Pawlet; 9th, Sir V. Browne, Lord Scroope, Sir George Herne, Captain of Tynmouth Castle; 11th, Sir V. Browne, Mr. Killigrew, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Rutland; 12th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 13th, Mr. Killigrew; 14th, France; 19th, Sir V. Browne, Mr. Killigrew, the Earl of Huntingdon.

Letters received from—12th, Mr. Killigrew; 18th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 19th, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, France; 24th, Mr. Killigrew; 29th, Mr. Killigrew.

JULY. 1574.

Letters received from—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 3rd, The Earl of Essex; 5th, The Regent of Scotland and Mr. Killigrew; 12th, France; 17th, Mr. Killigrew; 18th, Mr. Pawlet, Captain of Jersey; 22nd, France; 23rd, Ireland; 26th, Scotland, the Lord Treasurer; 29th, Mr. Hearle, the Earl of Ormond; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, Mr. Killigrew.

Letters sent to—1st, Mr. Killigrew, the ambassador in France, the Earl of Huntingdon; 7th, Mr. Killigrew, Sir V. Browne; 11th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, France; 18th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Killigrew, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Walter Mildmay; 28th, Mr. Bedingfield, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir V. Browne: 31st, Mr. Killigrew, Lord Scroope, Sir Walter Mildmay, Parmenter, Selbie, the Lord Treasurer.

AUGUST. 1574.

Letters received from—1st, The Lord Treasurer; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham; 4th, Mr. Dale; 8th, Mr. Killigrew, Mr. Bedingfield; 9th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Treasurer; 17th, Mr. Dale; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—1st, The Lord Treasurer, Parmenter; 2nd, The Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Earl of Essex; 5th, The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Henneage, Parmenter, Lord Cobham; 7th, Sir Henry Radcliffe, Mr. Horysone; 9th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Mayor; 11th, The Lord Treasurer, France; 17th, Sir Antonie Cooke, Mr. Randolphe, Parmenter; 21st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord President of Wales, Mr. Randall, Sir Wm. Wynter, Parmenter, Mr. Henry Cobham, Mr. Calvart, the French ambassador, Sir Henry Lea, Mr. Middlemore; 24th, Sir Walter Mildmaye; 27th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Regent, the Earl of Rutland, the Prince of Orange, Calvart, my brother Beale, Mr. Aldersaye; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Parmenter, Mr. Randolphe.

SEPTEMBER. 1574.

Letters received from—1st, Mons. la Noue, Mr. Randolphe; 3rd, Lord Cobham; 4th, Lord Cobham, London; 7th, Ireland; 8th, Lord Cobham; 11th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Earl of Ormonde; 14th, The Earl of Bedford; 17th, Dr. Dale; 19th, France; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon.

Letters sent to—2nd, La Noue, Madame de Soubise, Mons. de Moret; 3rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Keeper, Mr. Cordell; 4th, Lord Cobham; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Norris, the Bishop of Norwich, my cousin Sidnam; 9th,

The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Cobham, Mr. Beale, Parmenter, the French ambassador; 13th, The Earl of Bedford, Lord Cobham, Sir John Perot, Parmenter; 18th, The Earls of Bedford and Shrewsbury, Lord Garrye, Parmenter, the Advocate Fiscal; 19th, The Lord Treasurer, Lord Northe Mr. Varlie, Mr. Lewkenor; 20th, Lord Cobham, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord President of Wales, the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Deputy; 28th, Lord Northe, Lord Souche, Lord Sturton; 29th, The Lord Treasurer, the Regent of Scotland, Lord Hunsdon, the Prince of Orange, Boisot, Calvart, the Earl of Argyle.

OCTOBER. 1574.

Letters received from—1st, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 9th, Mr. Dale; 12th, Mons. Boysot; 13th, The Countess of Argyle, for the Queen; 15th, Lord Northe; 18th, Sir Walter Mildmay; 22nd, Sir Thomas Gressam; 24th, The Earl of Essex, the Lord Deputy; 26th, Sir Arthur Champernon; 30th, Lord Hunsdon, Lord North, Sir John Foster; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Dale.

Letters sent to—3rd, The Earl of Bedford, Sir W. Mildmaye; 6th, The French ambassador, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, The Bishop of London, Sig. Puttry; 11th, Mons. Boysot, D'Aubene, D. Lewis; 13th, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Lord Mayor; 14th, Lord Hunsdon, the Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, Mr. Swevingham; 19th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Desmond, Lord Hunsdon; 20th, Sir V. Browne; 30th, Justice Wraye; 31st, Sir Arthur Champernon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Huntingdon.

NOVEMBER. 1574.

Letters received from—5th, The Lord Deputy; 6th, Sir Val. Browne; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury: 12th, La Noue, Lord North from Lyons; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham; 16th, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Pawlet, Capt. of Jersey; 19th, Mr. Hearle; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 29th, Mr. Hearle; 30th, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—5th, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Regent; 10th, The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Essex, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Hunsdon;[a] 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 16th, The Earl of Essex, Dr. Wilson; 18th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Wilson, the Master of the Rolls; 20th, Mr. Hearle; 22nd, The Lord Deputy; 23rd, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Lewis; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Hunsdon.

DECEMBER. 1574.

Letters received from—1st, Lord Scroope; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 6th, The Earl of Essex, Dr. Dale; 9th, The Regent; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Huntingdon; 20th, Mr. Pawlet; 25th, Lord Hunsdon, the Regent.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 4th, The Earl of Bedford; 13th, The Prince of Orange, Boysot, Citadelle, Capt. Chester; 17th, The Lord Treasurer; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Rutland; 24th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Regent, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Amias Pawlet.

[a] *Sic* in MS.

JANUARY. 1575.

Letters received from—1st, Mr. Dale, The Earl of Huntingdon; 6th, Mr. Dale; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 11th, The ambassador in France; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 25th, Calvart; 26th, The Lord Treasurer; 27th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, The Earl of Essex, the Lord Deputy; 30th, The ambassador in France.

Letters sent to—4th, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Secretary Smith; 6th, The Governor of Boulogne; 9th, Mons. Boysot, Mons. Calvart; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, The Prince of Orange, Boysot, and Calvart; 16th, Dr. Dale, the Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, Her Majesty; 20th, The Prince of Orange, Boisot, Sir Thos. Smith; 22nd, The Lord Treasurer, Mr. Wotton, and Languet at Vienna; 25th, Boysot; 26th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Estates of Holland, My Lord Treasurer.

FEBRUARY. 1575.

Letters received from—2nd, The Council; 3rd, The Bishop of Bath; 4th, Dr. Wilson, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Prince of Orange; 10th, Sir Thos. Smith, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Ormond, Mr. Dale, Wilkes; 18th, Dr. Dale; 19th, Sir John Foster; 20th, Mr. Secretary Smith, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; 21st, Mr. Amias Paulet; 23rd, Citadella, Sir John Foster, the Regent; 26th, Sir John Foster, the Regent, Mr. Mongomery, Pietro Bizari, the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Regent of Scotland, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Foster, my Lord Treasurer; 4th, Mr. Dale; 5th, My Lord Treasurer; 6th, The Earl of Leicester; 10th, Sir Thos. Smith; 11th, Mr. Secretary Smith; 13th, The Regent of Scotland, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Foster; 19th,

Dr. Wilson; 20th, The Lord Treasurer; 22nd, Her Majesty, the Lord Treasurer, the Prince of Orange, Boysot; 24th, Mr. Secretary Smith; 25th, The Lord Treasurer; 26th, Boysot and his brother the Admiral; 27th, Mons. de la Noue, the customer, searcher and comptroller of Plymouth.

March. 1575.

Letters received from—2nd, Mr. Sec. Smith; 5th, The Bishop of Bath; 7th, Boysot; 8th, The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Huntingdon; 10th, The Earl of Leicester, the Lord Admiral; 13th, Sir John Foster; 14th, Dr. Dale, Sassetti; 16th, The Earl of Leicester, Fremin; 21st, The Lord Deputy; 22nd, Capt. Horsey; 25th, Dr. Dale; 26th, The Lord Chamberlain; 27th, Citadella; 28th, Dr. Dale; 30th, The Earl of Leicester; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Ormond; 4th, The Earl of Essex, the Lord Deputy; 6th, The Lord Chamberlain; 7th, The Lord Chamberlain; 8th, The Lord Treasurer; 9th, The Earl of Leicester, the Lord Admiral; 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Chamberlain, Dr. Dale; 13th, The Lord Admiral, 17th, The Earl of Essex, the Lord Deputy, the Prince of Orange; 18th, Dr. Dale; 21st, Dr. Dale; 24th, The Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Foster; 28th, Dr. Dale; 31st, The Earl of Leicester.

April. 1575.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Leicester; 4th, Jacomo; 5th, Jacomo; 7th, Sir John Foster, the Regent; 8th, The Earl of Essex, the Lord Deputy; 16th, The ambassador in France; 26th, Dr. Dale.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Leicester; 5th, The Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Leicester; 6th, Boysot, Capt. Bingham; 11th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Rutland, Sir John Foster, the Regent of Scotland; 12th, the Admiral of Holland; 13th, The Earl of Leicester; 14th, The ambassador in France, Jacomo; 15th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 19th, Sir Amias Paulet; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, the ambassador in France; 23rd, Lord Cobham.

JUNE. 1575.

Letters received from—2nd, Dr. Dale; 28th, Dr. Dale.

Letters sent to—5th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Regent, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir John Forster; 14th, the Lord Deputy; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, Dr. Dale; 22nd, Mr. Henry Killigrew, Mr. Randolphe; 29th, The Regent, Sir John Forster, Mr. Killigrew, Mr. Murray, the Earl of Huntingdon.

JULY. 1575.

Letters received from—4th, Mr. Solicitor; 11th, Mr. John Selby; 12th, Mr. H. Killigrew, Mr. Selby; 15th, Dr. Dale; 16th, The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Essex; 18th, Mr. John Selby, Mr. H. Killigrew; 19th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 21st, Mr. H. Killigrew, Mr. J. Selby; 22nd, The ambassador in France, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. H. Killigrew, the Lord Keeper, Mr. Recorder of London; 25th, The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon.

Letters sent to—12th, The Lord Keeper; 14th, Boysot; 15th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Regent, Mr. H. Killigrew, Mr. John Selby, The Lord Admiral; 18th, The Lord Keeper, Mr. Recorder, the ambassador of

the Low Countries; 19th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. H. Killigrew; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. H. Killigrew, Mr. John Selbye; 23rd, The French ambassador, Lord Cobham; 25th, The Lord Admiral; 26th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Thomas Cockin; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 29th, The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Essex, Mr. Owen Moore, Capt. Maltbie, Mr. Waterhouse, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl and Countess of Pembroke, Sir H. Wallop, Mr. Harbard.

August. 1575.

Letters received from—2nd, The Lord Deputy; 4th, The Earl of Essex, the Earl of Pembroke; 5th, Dr. Dale; 30th, The Earl of Essex.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Essex, Capt. Maltbie, the French ambassador; 15th, Mr. H. Killigrew, the Lord Treasurer; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. H. Killigrew.

September. 1575.

Letters received from—5th, The ambassador in France; 10th, Dr. Dale; 12th, The Lord Treasurer in London; 14th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 19th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Dr. Dale; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 23rd, Dr. Dale; 24th, Dr. Dale; 25th, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, the Lord Keeper; 26th, The French ambassador, Lord Cobham; 27th, Dr. Dale; 29th, Lord Hunsdon.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Essex, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord

Deputy of Ireland; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 9th, Mr. John Ashtley; 10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Villiers, Sir William Fitzwilliam in Ireland; 13th, The Marquis of Winchester; 16th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 21st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Rokebie, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, The Lord Treasurer; 24th, Lord Cobham, the Lord Treasurer; 26th, The Lord Keeper, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Secretary Smith, Sir Andrew Corbet; 28th, The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Cobham; 30th, The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chief Justice.

OCTOBER. 1575.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Sir John Forster; 6th, Dr. Dale, the Earl of Huntingdon; 11th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham, Germany; 12th, The Regent [of Scotland]; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Lord Hunsdon.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Lord Treasurer; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 5th, Dr. Dale; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Hunsdon; 8th, Lord Cobham; 14th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Rutland, the Regent, Lord Hunsdon.

NOVEMBER. 1575.

Letters received from—2nd, Dr. Dale; 7th, Dr. Dale; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 15th, Dr. Dale; 18th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 22nd, Dr. Dale; 28th, The Marshal of Berwick.

Letters sent to—21st, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, The Lord Treasurer, Sir Robt. Constable, the Regent; 27th, Mr. Corbett in Flanders; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

December. 1575.

Letters received from—4th, Dr. Dale; 6th, Mr. Corbett; 16th, Lord Scroope, the Marshal of Berwick; 17th, Mr. Corbett; 21st, Dr. Dale; 23rd, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent; 29th, Dr. Dale; 31st, Dr. Dale.

Letters sent to—1st, Lord Scroope; 3rd, Dr. Dale; 5th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent; 10th, The Marshal of Berwick; 17th, Dr. Dale; 27th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Lord Regent, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

January. 1576.

Letters received from—3rd, Sir Henry Cobham, in Spain; 4th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 17th, D. Furstemberg and Roland Fox, in Germany; 18th, Lord Scroope; 26th, Dr. Dale, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 28th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Lord Treasurer; 30th, The Lord Treasurer.

Letters sent to—13th, Sir Thos. Gargrave, vice-president of York; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 27th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent; 29th, The Lord Treasurer; 31st, The Lord Treasurer.

February. 1576.

Letters received from—1st, Dr. Dale; 3rd, The Treasurer; 8th, Dr. Dale; 11th, Dr. Dale; 21st, Dr. Dale; 27th, The ambassador in France.

Letters sent to—3rd, The Lord Treasurer; 4th, The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Essex; 6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 12th, Dr. Dale; 24th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick, the Lord Regent.

MARCH. 1576.

Letters received from—2nd, Dr. Dale; 3rd, The Marshal of Berwick; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, The Lord Deputy of Ireland; 10th, The Marshal of Berwick; 15th, Dr. Dale; 16th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick; 22nd, Dr. Dale; 29th, Daniel Rogers in Flanders; 30th, Dr. Dale.

Letters sent to—5th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 21st, Mr. Harbart, the Admiral of Holland; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, The Regent, Lord Scroope, the Marshal of Berwick, the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

APRIL. 1576.

Letters received from—3rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, Dr. Dale; 8th, The Marshal of Berwick; 9th, Dr. Dale; 12th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 15th, Dr. Dale; 21st, Dr. Dale, Mr. Davison; 25th, Dr. Davison; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 10th, Dr. Dale.

MAY. 1576.

Letters received from—1st, Dr. Dale, Mr. Randolphe, the Marshal of Berwick; 2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 5th, Lord Scroope, 9th, The Marshal of Berwick; 11th, Mr. Dale, Mr. Randolphe; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, Dr. Dale, Mr. Randolphe; 18th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 20th, The Marshal of Berwick; 23rd, Mr. Beale; 24th, Dr. Dale; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 27th, Lord Scroope; 28th, Dr. Dale.

Letters sent to—6th, The Marshal of Berwick; 16th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent; 24th,

The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Dr. Dale; 28th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

JUNE. 1576.

Letters received from—1st, Dr. Dale; 2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 3rd, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick; 11th, Dr. Dale; 15th, Dr. Dale, Mr. Beale; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 19th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Dr. Dale; 29th, The Lord Deputy; 30th, Dr. Dale, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—4th, the Lord Regent; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Robt. Constable; 15th, Dr. Dale; 18th, The Marshal of Berwick; 20th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 21st, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

JULY. 1576.

Letters received from—6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Dr. Dale; 14th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, Dr. Dale, the Treasurer of Berwick; 19th, Mr. Colshill at Cullein; 21st, The Lord Deputy; 22nd, Sir Wm. Winter, Mr. Beale; 24th, Dr. Dale.

Letters sent to—6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, Dr. Dale; 12th, The Lord Regent, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Wm. Drury, Mr. Agard, Mr. Waterhowse; 20th, The Lord Deputy; 23rd, The Regent, the Marshal and the Treasurer of Berwick; 26th, The Lord Deputy, Sir E. Fitton, Sir Lucas Dillon, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Wm. Drury, Mr. Agard, Mr. Waterhowse; 27th, Mr. Colshill, Mr. Costlin, Mr. Thos. Eaton,

Bizari; 31st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Smyth, Lady Mildmay.

AUGUST. 1576.

Letters received from—1st, The Marshal of Berwick, Dr. Dale; 4th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Lord Treasurer; 10th, Dr. Dale; 19th, The Marshal of Berwick; 22nd, Dr. Dale; 25th, Mr. Holstock, Capt. Bingham, the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Essex, Mr. Waterhowse; 27th, Sir Walter Mildmay, at Apthorpe; 29th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Prince of Orange.

Letters sent to—7th, The Lord Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal and the Treasurer of Berwick, Sir Walter Mildmay, Dr. Dale; 9th, The Lord Treasurer; 10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thos. Smyth, Sir Walter Mildmay; 15th, The Regent, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Walter Mildmay; 23rd, Dr. Dale; 24th, The Lord Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Alexander Haye; 25th, Mr. Colshill, Mr. Castlin; 28th, The Prince of Orange; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

SEPTEMBER. 1576.

Letters received from—2nd, Dr. Dale; 4th, Mr. Holstocke; 5th, Mr. Johnson; 6th, Mr. Holstock, the Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, Mr. Holstock; 11th, The Lord Treasurer, Mr. Edgerton, at London; 12th, Mr. Gilpin, the Company of Merchant Adventurers, Sir Amyas Paulet; 16th, Dr. Dale; 18th, The Treasurer of Berwick, the Earl of Huntingdon; 21st, Dr. Dale; 27th, Dr. Dale, Mr. Colshill; 28th, Ireland.

Letters sent to—3rd, The Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer; 6th,

Mr. Holstock; 7th, Dr. Dale; 10th, The Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Marshal of Berwick; 11th, The Lord Treasurer, Sir Amyas Paulet; 12th, Mr. Edgerton, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Amyas Paulet; 14th, The Lord Treasurer; 18th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Lord Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon; 19th, Sir W. Mildmay, at Apthorpe; 25th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Bishop of Carlisle; 28th, Sir Amyas Paulet, Dr. Dale, the Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, The Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Mr. Waterhowse.

October. 1576.

Letters received from—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 4th, Sir Wm. Drury; 5th, Sir W. Mildmay; 6th, Sir Amyas Paulet, Dr. Dale; 9th, The Lord Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick; 10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, Sir Amyas Paulet, Dr. Dale, Ireland, the Marshal of Berwick; 22nd, The Earl of Rutland; 26th, The Treasurer of Berwick; 30th, Mr. Heaton.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Rutland; 2nd, Sir W. Mildmay, at Apthorpe; 3rd, The Lord Treasurer, the Portuguese ambassador, Mr. Smith, customer, Mr. Fanshaw, Mr. Yonge, packer, and Mr. Andrew Palmer; 6th, The Lord Treasurer, Mr. Colshill, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Castlin, Mr. Heaton; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Treasurer; 10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Regent, the Earl of Rutland, Lord Scroope, the Marshal and Treasurer of Berwick; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, The Lord Treasurer, at Theobalds; 22nd, Sir Amyas Paulet; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

November. 1576.

Letters received from—1st, Sir Amyas Paulet; 4th, Lord Scroope;

10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Flushing; 14th, Lord Scroope, 18th, Sir Amyas Paulet, Mr. Wilson; 24th, The Lord Deputy, Mr. Johnson, at Berwick; 26th, The Lord Chancellor of Ireland; 28th, Lord Scroope; 30th, D. Wilson.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Rutland, Lord Scroope; 3rd, Sir Amyas Paulet; 10th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 15th, The Lord Deputy; 19th, D. Wilson; 23rd, The Treasurer of Berwick, the Regent; 25th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 28th, The Treasurer of Berwick, Lord Scroope.

DECEMBER. 1576.

Letters received from—6th, Lord Scroope, the Regent; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Dr. Wilson; 11th, The Treasurer of Berwick; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, Sir A. Paulet; 18th, Mr. Sturmius, Dr. Wilson; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 31st, Mr. Powlet.

Letters sent to—6th, Dr. Wilson; 11th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Regent, the Treasurer of Berwick, Mr. Wilson; 17th, Mr. Wilson; 18th, Sir Amyas Paulet, Mons. du Pin; 19th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, Mr. Horsey, Mr. Wilson, Mons. St. Aldegonde; 30th, Mr. Wilson, the Earl of Huntingdon.

JANUARY. 1577.

Letters received from—2nd, The Treasurer of Berwick; 5th, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Horsey; 8th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, Mr. Wilson; 18th, Mr. Wilson; 21st, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 22nd, Sir A. Paulet; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Germany; 28th, Mr. Wilson; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, Mr. Wilson.

Letters sent to—6th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Sir A. Paulet, Capt. Horsey, Dr. Wilson; 13th. The Regent, the Earl of Rutland, the Treasurer of Berwick; 19th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Scroope, the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir A. Paulet; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Regent, the Treasurer of Berwick.

FEBRUARY. 1577.

Letters received from—1st, Lord Scroope; 2nd, The Treasurer of Berwick; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 4th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick; 12th, Dr. Wilson; 13th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 17th, Dr. Wilson; 18th, Ireland; 20th, Dr. Wilson; 21st, Sir Amyas Paulet; 22nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, Dr. Wilson; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—2nd, Sir Amyas Paulet; 7th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, Dr. Wilson; 15th, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, The Lord Regent, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick, Sir Amyas Paulet.

MARCH. 1577.

Letters received from—2nd, Dr. Wilson; 6th, Dr. Wilson; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, Sir John Smith, Sir Amyas Paulet, Dr. Wilson, the Lord Regent, Mr. Selby; 11th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, Dr. Wilson; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 20th, Sir John Smyth, Mr. Wilson, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 21st, Sir Robt. Constable, Sir Amyas Paulet; 24th, Dr. Wilson; 27th,

The Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, Dr. Wilson, the Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, Mr. Sydney.

Letters sent to—1st, Dr. Wilson; 5th, Ireland; 6th, Dr. Wilson; 11th, The Lord Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal of Berwick; 16th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Amyas Paulet; 17th, The Earl of Rutland, 23rd, Dr. Wilson; 30th, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

April. 1577.

Letters received from—3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Dr. Wilson; 6th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 7th, Dr. Wilson, the Lord Deputy, Sir Wm. Drury, the Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 15th, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 19th, The Marshal of Berwick; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, Dr. Wilson; 27th, Berwick, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—1st, The Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick; 3rd, Ireland; 4th, Dr. Wilson; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 12th, Dr. Wilson; 13th, Mr. Philip Sidney, the Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick; 17th, Ireland; 21st, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal and Treasurer of Berwick.

May. 1577.

Letters received from—2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marshal, the Treasurer, and the Gentleman Porter of Berwick; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Amyas Paulet; 5th, Dr. Wilson; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, Lord Scroope, the Lord Regent, the Treasurer of Berwick; 12th, The Marshal of Berwick; 14th, Dr. Wilson, the Earl of Huntingdon; 15th, Sir Amias Paulet, the Earl of Huntingdon; 16th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 18th, The Earl

of Huntingdon; 19th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 21st, Ireland; 26th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 27th, The Marshal of Berwick; 28th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick.

Letters sent to—1st, Sir Amyas Paulet; 2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Sir Amyas Paulet; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Dr. Wilson; 14th, The Lord Regent, the Marshal and Treasurer of Berwick; 16th, Ireland; 18th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Regent, the Marshal of Berwick, Sir Wm. Drury; 21st, Lord Scroope; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Dr. Wilson.

JUNE. 1577.

Letters received from—5th, Lord Scroope; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 10th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent; 11th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Sir Amyas Paulet, Sir John Forster; 23rd, Dr. Wilson; 26th, Sir A. Paulet; 28th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, The Regent, the Ambassador in France, the Lord Deputy.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Wm. Drury; 6th, Sir A. Paulet, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick, the Lord Regent of Scotland; 11th, Ireland; 13th, The Lord Regent; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, Mr. Wilson; 28th, Berwick, the Lord Regent.

JULY 1577.

Letters received from—2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 3rd, The Ambassador in France, the Earl of Huntingdon; 11th, Lord Scroope, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Huntingdon;

13th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick; 19th, The Marshal of Berwick, Sir Amyas Paulet; 24th, The Marshal of Berwick, Sir Amias Paulet; 27th, The Treasurer of Berwick and the Regent of Scotland; 28th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 31st, The Marshal of Berwick, my Lord Treasurer at Buxtons.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 15th, The Lord Regent, the Marshal of Berwick; 16th, The Ambassador in France; 18th, Sir Amias Paulet; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Scroope; 27th, The Treasurer of Berwick, the Lord Regent; 29th, My Lord Treasurer at Buxton.

AUGUST. 1577.

Letters received from—1st, My Lord Treasurer at Buxtons; 2nd, The Low Countries, Sir Amias Paulet; 6th, The Lord Regent, the Treasurer of Berwick, Mr. Hoggen, in Barbary; 7th, My Lord Treasurer, at Buxtons; 8th, The Prince of Condé, Mr. Geo. Winter, at sea; 10th, My Lord Treasurer at Buxtons; 11th, The Captains of Jersey and Guernsey; 12th, Mr. Daniell Rogers in Flanders, Mr. Geo. Winter at sea, Sir A. Paulet; 14th, Sir Robert Constable; 16th, My Lord Treasurer at Buxtons, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, The Lord Treasurer at Buxtons; 18th, Sir Robt. Constable, Marshal of Berwick; 21st, The Lord Treasurer; 22nd, Mr. Davison, Her Majesty's agent in the Low Countries; 23rd, The Lord Regent, the Marshal of Berwick; 26th, The Lord Deputy, Mr. Davison; 27th, Sir A. Paulet, my Lord Treasurer at Burghley; 31st, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—1st, My Lord Treasurer; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Regent, the Marshal of Berwick, the Earl of Shrewsbury, my Lord Treasurer; 9th, My Lord Treasurer; 15th, The Lord Regent, the Marshal of Berwick, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Treasurer; 22nd, The

Marshal of Berwick, Sir Amias Paulet; 25th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Regent, my Lord Treasurer; 26th, The Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle, Lord Cobham; 31st, The Ambassador in France.

SEPTEMBER. 1577.

Letters received from—1st, Sir A. Paulet; 3rd, Sir R. Constable, Mr. Robert Bowes; 5th, Lord Cobham; 7th, Mr. Bowes, Treasurer of Berwick; 10th, Sir A. Paulet, the Earl of Bedford; 11th, The Treasurer of Berwick; 13th, Scotland; 14th, Mr. Davison, Mr. Beale, Duke Casimyrus, Mr. Daniel Rogers at Neustadt; 17th, The Lord Regent; 18th, Sir Robert Constable, Mr. Davison; 22nd, Sir R. Constable; 23rd, Sir A. Paulet; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, Mr. Davison; 27th, Mr. Hawkins, the Earl of Huntingdon; 28th, Mr. Robert Bowes; 30th, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Letters sent to—2nd, Lord Cobham; 3rd, Lord Cobham, Mr. Davison, Mr. Beale; 4th, Sir Robert Constable, Mr. Robert Bowes, the Lord Regent, Sir Walter Mildmay; 6th, The Marshal and Treasurer of Berwick; 7th, The Treasurer of Berwick; 9th, The Treasurer of Berwick; 10th, Sir William Drury in Ireland; 11th, Sir Amias Paulet, the Earl of Bedford; 13th, Mr. D. Rogers at Hamburgh; 16th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Treasurer of Berwick, the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chief Justice, in Lincolnshire; 17th, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Lord Treasurer; 21st, The Lord Deputy; 29th, Mr. Davison; 30th, Sir Robt. Constable, Mr. Bowes.

OCTOBER. 1577.

Letters received from—1st, Sir Amyas Paulet; 3rd, Mr. D. Rogers, Mr. Davison, at Brussels, Sir Robert Constable; 6th, The

Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, The Lord Deputy, Mr. Beale; 9th, Sir Robert Constable; 11th, Mr. Davison; 12th, Mr Davison, the Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, Mr. Bowes; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Davison; 20th, Sir William Drury; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Beale, Mr. Rogers, at Frankfort, Mr. Davison, at Brussels; 24th, and 26th, The Marshal of Berwick; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Huntingdon; 28th, Sir Amyas Paulet, the Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, Mr. Sturmius, Dr. Rogers; 30th, Lord Scroope; 31st, The Treasurer of Berwick.

Letters sent to—1st, Lord Cobham, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle; 3rd, Mr. William Davison, her Majesties agent in the Low Countries; 5th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham; 10th, Mr. Randolphe at Canterbury; 11th, Mr. Bowes in Scotland; 12th, Lord Cobham; 14th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 15th, Lord Scroope, the Mayor and town of Newcastle, Justice Manhode, the Mayor of Dover, Mr. Davison; 16th, The Lord Treasurer; 18th, Mr. Davison; 19th, The Marshal of Berwick, Mr. Bowes, the Regent, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 21st, Lord Cobham; 22nd, The Earl of Rutland, Sir John Foster; 23rd, Lord Cobham; 24th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Bowes, Sir Arthur Champernowne, the Earl of Bedford; 28th, Mr. Davison.

NOVEMBER. 1577.

Letters received from—2nd, Mr. Davison; 4th, The Marshal of Berwick, Lord Cobham; 5th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir A. Paulet; 11th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Treasurer of Berwick; 14th, The Marshal of Berwick; 16th, The Marshal of Berwick; 18th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Daniel Rogers, Mr. Davison; 19th, Mr. Davison; 20th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, Mr. Davison, Sir A. Paulet;

24th, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Rogers 27th, The Marshal of Berwick.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 2nd, Mr. D. Rogers at Newstate, Mr. Beale at Wittenberge, Mr. Davison, the Treasurer of Berwick, Lord Scroope; 3rd, The Lord Deputy 4th, Lord Cobham, the Marshal of Berwick; 6th, Mr. Davison 9th, Mr. Davison; 12th, Lord Cobham, Dr. Wilson, secretary Mr. Hatton, vice chamberlain; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Marshal of Berwick Sir John Foster, the Bp. of Durham; 18th, Sir A. Paulet Mr. Davison; 22nd, Sir Nicholas Malby and Sir Lucas Dillon in Ireland; 24th, Mr. Davison.

December. 1577.

Letters received from—2nd, Mr. Davison; 6th, Mr. Davison; 9th Sir A. Paulet; 11th, Scotland, the Marshal of Berwick; 13th Lord Cobham; 17th, Sir Robt. Constable, Mr Bowes, in Scotland; 20th, The Lord Deputy; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 25th, The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Huntingdon; 26th Mr. D. Rogers, Mr. Davison; 27th, Sir A. Paulet; 29th, Mr Davison.

Letters sent to—3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 7th, Mr. Davison 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 10th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr Bowes, Sir R. Constable, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon; 11th, The Lord Deputy; 12th, Lord Cobham; 14th Lord Cobham; 15th, Mr. Davison; 17th, Sir Amias Paulet 21st, Mr. Davison; 23rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

January. 1578.

Letters received from—3rd, Sir A. Paulet; 5th, The Marshal of Berwick; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, Mr. Davison 15th, Sir Amias Paulet; 16th, Capt. Leighton; 22nd, Mr

Bowes, in Scotland, the Marshal of Berwick; 23rd, Mr. Davison; 27th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 28th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir A. Paulet; 29th, Lord Scroope; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 31st, Mr. Bowes, in Scotland.

Letters sent to—1st, The Marshal of Berwick, Mr. Bowes, in Scotland; 9th, Mr. Davison; 11th, Mr. Davison; 13th, The Marshal of Berwick, Mr. Bowes, in Scotland; 14th, Sir Amias Paulet; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, Lord Scroope; 21st, The Lord Deputy; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 28th, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Foster.

FEBRUARY. 1578.

Letters received from—1st, Mr. Beale, Mr. Davison, the Lord Deputy, Mr. Wilkes; 4th, Mr. Davison; 5th, Sir Robert Constable, Mr. Davison; 9th, Mr. Davison; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Mr. Davison; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 19th, Mr. Davison; 21st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 23rd, Sir A. Paulet; 25th, Mr. Bowes in Scotland; 28th, Mr. Davison, the Lord Deputy.

Letters sent to—4th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Mr. Bowes, Sir A. Paulet; 6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Bishop of Durham; 11th, Sir A. Paulet; 16th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, Mr. Randolphe, Sir A. Paulet; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 25th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Davison.

MARCH. 1578.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Sir Robt. Constable; 7th, Mr. Davison; 8th, Sir A. Paulet; 11th, The

Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 15th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 16th, Sir A. Paulet; 19th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Davison; 21st, Lord Scroope, Sir A Paulet; 22nd, Mr. Randolphe; 23rd, Sir A. Paulet; 24th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Randolphe; 26th, Mr. Davison; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, Mr. Rogers; 31st, Sir A. Paulet.

Letters sent to—9th, The Bishops of Worcester and Bangor; 11th, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Bowes, Lord Scroope; 17th, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 18th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Bowes; 20th, Mr. Davison; 21st, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 22nd, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon; 24th, The Lord Deputy; 27th, Mr. Davison, Mr. Randolphe; 31st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Rutland.

April. 1578.

Letters received from—4th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 5th, Sir A. Paulet, Lord Scroope, Mr. Davison; 8th, Lord Scroope; 9th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 12th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, Mr. Davison; 15th, Lord Cobham; 16th, Mr. Davison; 18th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, The Lord Deputy; 21st, Sir A. Paulet; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 24th, Mr. Davison; 29th, Sir A. Paulet.

Letters sent to—4th, Mr. Davison, Sir A. Paulet; 7th, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Sir A. Paulet; 11th, Sir A. Paulet, the Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Bp. of Durham; 19th, The Marshal of Berwick, Sir A. Paulet; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 25th, Mr. Robt. Bowes; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

MAY. 1578.

Letters received from—3rd, Mr. Bowes; 5th, Mr. Davison; 6th, Sir A. Paulet; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, Mr. Bowes; 9th, Sir John Foster, Mr. Bowes; 11th, Mr. Davison, Mr. Rogers; 16th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Bowes; 20th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 22nd, Mr. Davison, Sir R. Constable; 23rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, Sir A. Paulet, Mr. Bowes; 28th, Mr. Hoddesdon at Hamborowe, Mr. Davison, the Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir A. Paulet.

Letters sent to—1st, The President of Munster; 3rd, The Marshal of Berwick, Sir A. Paulet; 5th, Mr. Davison, Mr. Daniel Rogers, the Earl of Huntingdon; 9th, Sir John Foster, Mr. Bowes; 17th, Mr. Davison, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 19th, Mr. Davison; 21st, Sir Amias Paulet, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Bishop of Carlisle; 22nd, Mr. Davison; 28th, Lord Cobham, Mr. Bowes, the King and Earls of Scotland; 29th, Sir A. Paulet; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

JUNE. 1578.

Letters received from—3rd, Mr. Davison; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 12th, Mr. Bowes.

Letters sent to—3rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Mr. Davison; 6th, Mr. Bowes; 8th, Sir A. Paulet, the Earl of Leicester at Buxtons; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scroope; 13th, The Earls of Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, and Leicester at Buxtons; 14th, Sir A. Paulet.

MARCH. 1580.

Letters received from—25th, Flanders, Ireland; 30th, Lord Scroope and the Earl of Huntingdon, in France; 31st, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—26th, France; 27th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster, Mr. Bowes.

April. 1580.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 2nd, Sir Henry Cobham; 9th, France, Flanders; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Mr. Bowes; 16th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, Mr. Bowes; 21st, Flanders; 22nd, France; 24th, France, Ireland; 27th, Mr. Bowes; 28th, Flanders; 29th, Ireland.

Letters sent to 2nd, Flanders; 3rd, Sir Henry Cobham; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, Flanders; 13th, France; 16th, Mr. Bowes, France, Flanders; 17th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, Mr. Bowes, the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland; 22nd, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Flanders; 24th, France, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 26th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster, Lord Scroope.

May. 1580.

Letters received from 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Lord Scroope, Sir John Foster, the Bishop of Carlisle; 6th, Flanders; 7th, Ireland; 9th, France, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Ireland; 12th, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster, Ireland; 15th, Mr. Bowes, France; 17th, Sir John Forster; 18th, Flanders; 19th, Mr. Saturnus; 20th, France; 21st, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Mr. Selby; 27th, Mr. Bowes, Flanders; 29th, France.

Letters sent to 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 7th, France, Flanders, Ireland; 11th, Ireland; 12th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 13th, Lord Cobham; 14th, Flanders, Mr. Selby; 16th, Ireland; 17th, France; 18th, Ireland; 19th, Mr. Bowes;

21st, Flanders; 22nd, France; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 24th, Ireland; 28th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scroope, Flanders.

JUNE. 1580.

Letters received from—2nd, Ireland, Flanders; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 7th, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Flanders, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Ireland; 13th, France; 16th, Ireland, Flanders; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, France; 19th, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Flanders; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, Ireland, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—1st, Mr. Bowes; 4th, Flanders; 5th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 11th, Flanders; 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 16th, Flanders; 18th, Ireland; 20th, France; 22nd, Mr. Stafford, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 29th, The Earl of Huntingdon.

JULY. 1580.

Letters received from—1st, Mr. Bowes; 2nd, Flanders; 5th, Mr. Stafford; 8th, Ireland; 10th, France; 13th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, France; 19th, Ireland, Flanders; 21st, France; 23rd, Lord Scroope, Mr. Stafford; 26th, Sir W. Mildmay; 27th, Mr. Bowes; 29th, Flanders, France.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 6th, The Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, Lord Scroope; 7th, France; 11th, Lord Scroope, Sir John Forster; 12th, France, Flanders; 13th, Ireland, France; 22nd, The Earls of Huntingdon and Shrewsbury, Sir W. Mildmay; 23rd, Flanders; 25th, Mr. Bowes; 27th, Sir Hen. Cobham, Mr. Stafford, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir W. Mildmay, Mr.

Letters sent to—26th, France; 27th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster, Mr. Bowes.

April. 1580.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 2nd, Sir Henry Cobham; 9th, France, Flanders; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Mr. Bowes; 16th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, Mr. Bowes; 21st, Flanders; 22nd, France; 24th, France, Ireland; 27th, Mr. Bowes; 28th, Flanders; 29th, Ireland.

Letters sent to—2nd, Flanders; 3rd, Sir Henry Cobham; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, Flanders; 13th, France; 16th, Mr. Bowes, France, Flanders; 17th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, Mr. Bowes, the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland; 22nd, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Flanders; 24th, France, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 26th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster, Lord Scroope.

May. 1580.

Letters received from—3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Lord Scroope, Sir John Foster, the Bishop of Carlisle; 6th, Flanders; 7th, Ireland; 9th, France, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Ireland; 12th, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster, Ireland; 15th, Mr. Bowes, France; 17th, Sir John Forster; 18th, Flanders; 19th, Mr. Sturmius; 20th, France; 21st, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Mr. Selby; 27th, Mr. Bowes, Flanders; 29th, France.

Letters sent to—3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 7th, France, Flanders, Ireland; 11th, Ireland; 12th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 13th, Lord Cobham; 14th, Flanders, Mr. Selby; 16th, Ireland; 17th, France; 18th, Ireland; 19th, Mr. Bowes;

21st, Flanders; 22nd, France; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 24th, Ireland; 28th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scroope, Flanders.

JUNE. 1580.

Letters received from—2nd, Ireland, Flanders; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 7th, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Flanders, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Ireland; 13th, France; 16th, Ireland, Flanders; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, France; 19th, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Flanders; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, Ireland, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—1st, Mr. Bowes; 4th, Flanders; 5th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 11th, Flanders; 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 16th, Flanders; 18th, Ireland; 20th, France; 22nd, Mr. Stafford, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, Mr. Bowes; 29th, The Earl of Huntingdon.

JULY. 1580.

Letters received from—1st, Mr. Bowes; 2nd, Flanders; 5th, Mr. Stafford; 8th, Ireland; 10th, France; 13th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 17th, France; 19th, Ireland, Flanders; 21st, France; 23rd, Lord Scroope, Mr. Stafford; 26th, Sir W. Mildmay; 27th, Mr. Bowes; 29th, Flanders, France.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 6th, The Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, Lord Scroope; 7th, France; 11th, Lord Scroope, Sir John Forster; 12th, France, Flanders; 13th, Ireland, France; 22nd, The Earls of Huntingdon and Shrewsbury, Sir W. Mildmay; 23rd, Flanders; 25th, Mr. Bowes; 27th, Sir Hen. Cobham, Mr. Stafford, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir W. Mildmay, Mr.

Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, Mr. Bowes, the Bp. of Durham; 30th, Flanders.

AUGUST. 1580.

Letters received from—3rd, Ireland; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 5th, The Ambassador in France and Mr. Stafford; 6th, Mr. Bowes, The Earl of Huntingdon; 9th, Berwick; 10th, Ireland; 12th, Ireland; 13th, France, Flanders, Sir W. Mildmay; 17th, Ireland, Lord Scroope; 24th, France, Flanders; 25th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 27th, Ireland; 29th, France.

Letters sent to—4th, Berwick; 6th, Flanders; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir W. Mildmay, Ireland, Mr. Bowes; 16th, Mr. Bowes, Lord Scroope; 18th, France; 19th, France; 20th, Flanders; 27th, Flanders, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Scroope, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Bowes, Sir W. Mildmay; 30th, France.

SEPTEMBER. 1580.

Letters received from—3rd, Ireland, Flanders; 6th, Ireland; 7th, Flanders; 8th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 9th, France, Mr. Bowes; 14th, France; 15th, France, Flanders; 18th, Mr. Bowes; 19th, Ireland, the Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, France; 24th, Ireland; 25th, Ireland; 26th, Ireland; 29th, France, Flanders; 30th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Selby.

Letters sent to—1st, Mr. Bowes; 3rd, Flanders; 5th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir W. Mildmay, Mr. Bowes; 10th, France, Mr. Bowes; 11th, Lord Scroope, Sir John Forster, Mr. Selbie; 12th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir W. Mildmay; 17th, France, Flanders; 19th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, Sir W. Mildmay; 24th, Flanders; 25th, Ireland, Mr. Bowes; 27th, Ireland, the

Earl of Rutland; 28th, Ireland; 30th, Ireland, the Earl of Huntingdon.

OCTOBER. 1580.

Letters received from—4th, Ireland; 6th, Ireland, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Mr. Bowes, France; 12th, France, Flanders, the Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Selby; 14th, Flanders; 16th, France; 17th, Mr. Selby at Berwick, the Earl of Huntingdon; 21st, France, Flanders; 22nd, Mr. Bowes; 26th, Mr. Bowes; 27th, Flanders; 29th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, Mr. Bowes, and Mr. Selby at Berwick; 31st, France, Sir John Forster.

Letters sent to—1st, Flanders, Mr. Bowes; 3rd, Sir John Forster, Mr. Selby; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 5th, Ireland; 7th, France; 8th, France, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon; 11th, The Mayor of Bristol; 12th, The officers of the Port of Dover; 13th, The Commissioners at Dover; 14th, Ireland; 15th, Flanders; 20th, The Commissioners at Chester, the Earl of Huntingdon; 22nd, Flanders; 23rd, The Earl of Derby; 24th, The Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon; 26th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbp. of York, Mr. Bowes, Sir John Forster, the Bp. of Durham, Lord Scroope, the Bp. of Carlisle; 28th, France; 29th, Flanders; 30th, Mr. Bowes and Mr. Selby at Berwick; 31st, Berwick.

NOVEMBER. 1580.

Letters received from—1st, Ireland; 3rd, Flanders, the Archbp. of York; 4th, Mr. Selbie, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham.

Letters sent to—1st, The Prince of Orange; 4th, Lord Cobham.

DECEMBER. 1580.

Letters received from—7th, Berwick; 8th, France, Ireland; 10th, Flanders; 11th, Ireland; 13th, Berwick, the Earl of Huntingdon; 16th, Flanders; 18th, France; 21st, Sir Hen. Cobham, Mr. Stafford; 25th, Ireland; 29th, The Earl of Huntingdon.

Letters sent to—7th, Berwick, the Earl of Huntingdon; 10th, Flanders; 14th, Ireland, Sir John Forster; 17th, Flanders; 20th, France; 22nd, Ireland; 23rd, Ireland, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham, the Bp. of Carlisle; 24th, France, Flanders; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

JANUARY. 1581.

Letters received from—3rd, France; 4th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 5th, Mr. Bowes, Sir John Forster; 6th, Flanders; 7th, Mr. Bowes; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham; 11th, France, Flanders; 13th, Mr. Randolph; 15th, Mr. Bowes; 16th, Ireland, the Earl of Huntingdon; 19th, France; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbp. of York; 21st, Flanders, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Randolph, Lord Hunsdon; 25th, The Low Countries; 27th, Mr. Randolph, the Earl of Huntingdon; 28th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, France; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 31st, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, France.

Letters sent to—1st, Flanders; 3rd, Ireland, France; 5th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham, Mr. Bowes; 7th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Scroope, Sir John Forster, Flanders; 8th, Mr. Randolph;

9th, The Archbp. of York; 15th, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Derby; 16th, Ireland; 17th, France, Ireland, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Bowes; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Randolphe; 21st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 25th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Bowes, Lord Hunsdon; 28th, Mr. Randolphe, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon; 29th, Ireland, Chester; 31st, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon.

FEBRUARY. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Low Countries; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, France; 8th, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, Ireland; 9th, Chester, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 12th, Mr. Randolphe, the Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, Mr. Randolphe, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon; 15th, France; 16th, Scotland, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon; 17th, France, Flanders; 20th, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Derby; 24th, Newcastle; 28th, France.

Letters sent to—1st, France; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 16th, Scotland, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Randolphe; 19th, Flanders; 20th, Lord Hunsdon; 27th, France, Ireland.

MARCH. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 2nd, Chester, Ireland, Flanders, the Earl of Huntingdon; 3rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 5th, Flanders, Ireland; 6th, Chester; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 8th, Chester; 9th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir John Forster; 10th, The Earl of

Huntingdon; 13th, Chester; 14th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 15th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Randolphe, Chester; 18th, France; 19th, Chester; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Randolphe; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Cobham; 25th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Cobham; 26th, Lord Cobham; 28th, Lord Cobham; 29th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Ireland; 31st, Lord Cobham, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Rutland, France, Flanders.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 4th, The Dean of York, Mr. Rookby; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 11th, Bland at Chester, Beverlay at Bristol; 12th, Mr. Antony Digby, Sir Robt. Constable, Mr. John Dorrington, Mr. Geo. Byston of Cheshire; 18th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Flanders; 22nd, The Earl of Huntingdon; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Cobham; 27th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Randolphe, Chester, Bristol, Ireland; 28th, Lord Cobham, Sir H. Crumwell; 29th, Lord Cobham; 31st, Lord Cobham.

April. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon; 3rd, Lord Hunsdon; 4th, Lord Cobham; 5th, Lord Hunsdon, France; 6th, Flanders; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham; 8th, Lord Hunsdon; 10th, Lord Cobham, Chester; 11th, The Archbp. of York, Flanders; 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 13th, France; 15th, Lord Cobham; 16th, Ireland, Chester, Flanders; 17th, Lord Cobham, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon; 18th, Lord Cobham; 19th, Lord Cobham, Flanders, the Earl of Huntingdon, Chester; 20th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 23rd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Chester; 24th,

The Earl of Huntingdon; 26th, Lord Hunsdon; 27th, The Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, Chester; 28th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Flanders; 30th, Mr. Bowes.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham; 4th, Lord Cobham; 6th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 7th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Cobham; 8th, Lord Cobham; 9th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 11th, France; 12th, Ireland, Chester, Lord Cobham; 13th, The Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbp. of York; 16th, Flanders; 17th, Lord Cobham; 18th, Lord Cobham; 19th, Lord Cobham; 24th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Scroope, France, Chester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir John Foster; 28th, Flanders.

MAY. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, Flanders; 3rd, Chester, Ireland; 7th, Chester, Lord Hunsdon; 10th, The Earl of Huntingdon, France, Chester; 11th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 12th, Flanders, Lord Hunsdon; 13th, Chester; 17th, Ireland; 19th, Ireland, Flanders; 20th, Ireland; 21st, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Scroope; 22nd, Lord Hunsdon; 23rd, France, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Scroope; 27th, Flanders; 28th, Chester.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 5th, France; 6th, Flanders; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, Ireland, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 10th, Dover; 15th, Dover; 17th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon; 19th, Ireland; 20th, Flanders; 23rd, Lord Hunsdon; 24th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Bowes; 27th, Flanders; 28th, Chester.

JUNE. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, France, Flanders; 3rd, France; 8th, Sir John Foster, Lord Hunsdon, France; 9th, Flanders, Lord Scroope; 10th, Lord Hunsdon; 11th, Lord Hunsdon; 14th,

France, Lord Cobham; 15th, Lord Cobham, Chester; 16th, Flanders; 17th, Lord Cobham, Flanders, the Archbp. of York; 19th, France, the Earl of Huntingdon; 20th, Lord Hunsdon; 22nd, Flanders, Lord Hunsdon; 25th, France; 28th, Flanders, Chester, the Earl of Derby; 30th, Flanders.

Letters sent to—2nd, Ireland; 3rd, France; 4th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, France; 9th, Lord Hunsdon; 10th, Flanders; 12th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Scroope; 13th, Ireland, Lord Cobham; 15th, Lord Cobham, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Flanders, the Bishop of Durham; 19th, The Archbp. of York; 20th, Dover; 21st, Dover; 23rd, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon, Ireland, Chester; 28th, Lord Hunsdon; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

JULY. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, Lord Hunsdon; 2nd, France; 6th, Lord Hunsdon; 7th, France; 8th, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Scroope, Sir John Foster; 10th, France; 11th, Lord Hunsdon, Flanders; 13th, Lord Cobham, Flanders; 14th, France; 15th, Ireland; 17th, France; 19th, Lord Scroope; 20th, Flanders; 21st, Chester.

Letters sent to—2nd, France; 5th, Lord Hunsdon; 8th, Flanders; 9th, Chester, Lord Scroop, Lord Cobham; 11th, France; 13th, Lord Cobham, Lord Hunsdon, the Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, The Lieutenant of Dover Castle, France, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Scroope, Sir John Forster; 16th, The Lieutenant of Dover; 17th, The Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, Chester; 18th, Ireland, Chester; 19th, France; 21st, France, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, Lords Hunsdon and Scroope, Sir John Foster.

SEPTEMBER. 1581.

Letters received from—29th, Lord Cobham.
Letters sent to—27th, France; 30th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Scroope, Flanders.

OCTOBER. 1581.

Letters received from—10th, Mr. Sommers; 12th, France, Dover; 13th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 14th, Ireland; 15th, Chester, Flanders; 18th, Sir John Foster, the Bp. of Durham; 20th, Chester, Ireland; 21st, Dover; 22nd, Flanders; 27th, France; 28th, Flanders; 30th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, Ireland.
Letters sent to—9th, The Lieutenant of Dover; 10th, Mr. Sommers, France; 11th, The Lord Treasurer at Theobalds; 12th, Ireland; 16th, Flanders, Ireland; 18th, The Earl of Rutland; 19th, Mr. Sommers; 21st, Dover; 23rd, Berwick, Lord Scroope; 28th, the Bp. of Durham, the Marshal of Berwick; 31st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scroope.

NOVEMBER. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, Berwick, Mr. Sommers; 3rd, Mr. Robert Bowes; 5th, France; 6th, Flanders, Mr. Bowes; 7th, Berwick, Mr. Bowes; 8th, Dover; 10th, France, Flanders, Ireland, Chester; 11th, Lord Scroope; 13th, Mr. Bowes; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Beale; 19th, Lord Scroope, the Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham; 20th, France, Mr. Beale; 22nd, The Marshal of Berwick; 24th, Flanders, the Archbp. of Canterbury; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Beale; 27th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Beale.
Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Rutland; 2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Chester, France; 3rd, Ireland; 8th, Berwick, to

stay Mr. Erington, Dover; 11th, Flanders, the Earl of Rutland, the Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham, Dover; 14th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Archbp. of York, the Bishop of Durham; 15th, The Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham; 18th, France; 25th, The Archbp. of York, the Bishop of Durham.

December. 1581.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Mr. Beale, Ireland, Mr. Bowes; 4th, France, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 5th, Flanders, Mr. Selby, Mr. Bowes; 8th, The Marshal of Berwick, Mr. Selby; 10th, Sir John Foster; 16th, Mr. Bowes; 17th, France; 20th, The Marshal of Berwick; 21st, Ireland; 22nd, Chester, Lord Cobham; 23rd, Mr. Selby, the Marshal of Berwick; 24th, France; 27th, France; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, Lord Scroope, Mr. Bowes, Flanders.

Letters sent to—4th, The Bp. of Durham; 7th, France; 8th, Dover; 9th, Flanders, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Selby; 11th, Dover; 12th, Ireland, Dover; 13th, Dover; 14th, Dover; 15th, Dover; 17th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 28th, Ireland.

January. 1582.

Letters received from—3rd, France; 7th, Dover; 8th, Dover; 9th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Ireland; 12th, Flanders; 13th, France; 15th, Flanders, Ireland; 16th, Mr. Bowes; 20th, France; 21st, Chester, Flanders; 22nd, Ireland; 28th, Flanders; 31st, Mr. Bowes, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—1st, Ireland, Lord Scroope; 4th, France; 6th, Flanders; 8th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, France; 11th, Ireland, the Earl of Derby, Lord Scroope, the Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham; 13th, Flanders; 20th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 23rd, Mr. Bowes; 27th, Flanders; 29th, Ireland; 31st, The Bp. of Durham, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

FEBRUARY. 1582.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Derby; 2nd, France; 3rd, Flanders; 4th, Ireland, France; 6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, Mr. Beverley at Chester, the gentleman porter of Berwick; 9th, Flanders; 10th, Ireland; 16th, France; 17th, Ireland; 20th, Berwick; 22nd, Berwick; 24th, The Low Countries; 25th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 26th, France; 28th, France, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—1st, France, the Earl of Derby, the Archbp. of York; 2nd, Lord Scroope; 7th and 11th, The Low Countries; 14th, Flanders, France; 15th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the gentleman porter of Berwick; 18th, The Low Countries; 19th, Berwick; 21st, Sir Richard Bukeley, Dover; 25th, Sir Richard Bukeley, the Sheriff of Cheshire.

MARCH. 1582.

Letters received from—3rd, Ireland, Chester, Flanders; 4th, Sir Richard Bukeley; 7th, France; 11th, Lord Scroope; 13th, Mr. Selby; 15th, Ireland; 16th, France; 17th, Chester; 18th, Lord Scroope; 19th, Beaumaris, Ireland, Flanders; 20th, The Marshal of Berwick; 21st, Flanders; 23rd, Flanders, by Mr. Rawley; 24th, Chester; 28th, Lord Scroope; 29th, Dover.

Letters sent to—1st, The Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham; 4th, Flanders; 6th, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, France, Ireland; 15th, Chester, the Earl of Derby; 19th, Rye; 22nd, The Archbp. of York; 26th, Dover; 28th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 29th, Ireland, Sir Richard Bukely; 30th, Berwick.

APRIL. 1582.

Letters received from—2nd, France, Flanders; 4th, Ireland; 5th, Ireland; 11th, Flanders, Chester, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 18th, Chester, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 20th, Ireland; 26th, France; 27th, Flanders; 28th, Lord Scroope; 29th, Flanders; 30th, The Marshal of Berwick.

Letters sent to—6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 7th, France; 26th, Chester; 27th, France, Berwick; 28th, Ireland, Flanders.

MAY. 1582.

Letters received from—2nd, Flanders; 5th, Sir John Foster; 6th, Ireland; 7th, France; 8th, The Marshal of Berwick; 14th, Ireland; 15th, Ireland; 18th, Flanders, France; 19th, The Marshal of Berwick, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 20th, The Earl of Derby; 23rd, Ireland; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 30th, Berwick; 31st, Flanders.

Letters sent to—2nd, Ireland; 5th, Flanders; 12th, Dover, Sandwich; 16th, The Archbp. of York, the Bp. of Durham; 19th, Dover, Lord Scroope; 24th, Lord Scroope; 25th, The Earl of Rutland.

JUNE. 1582.

Letters received from—2nd, Ireland; 3rd, France; 4th, Ireland; 6th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scroope; 7th, Flanders; 9th, Ireland; 13th, France; 14th, Ireland; 15th, Ireland; 17th, France, Berwick; 20th, Ireland; 23rd, Flanders; 27th, Ireland; 28th, Dover; 29th, Ireland; 30th, France, Low Countries, Germany.

Letters sent to—7th, France; 17th, the Bp. of Durham; 23rd, Flanders, Ireland; 25th, Ireland; 26th, Dover, the Earl of Derby.

JULY. 1582.

Letters received from—1st, France; 3rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scroope; 5th, The Low Countries; 8th, Ireland; 12th, Lord Cobham, the Low Countries; 15th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 16th, Lord Scroope; 17th, Lord Willoughby, the Earl of Shrewsbury, France; 19th, Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 22nd, Ireland; 23rd, Berwick; 24th, The Low Countries; 26th, The Low Countries; 29th, France.

Letters sent to—2nd, The Low Countries; 4th, France; 7th, The Low Countries; 8th, Willoughby; 9th, Berwick; 14th, The Low Countries; 21st, The Low Countries; 24th, France; 25th, Berwick, France; 29th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

AUGUST. 1582.

Letters received from—5th, France; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Chamberlain; 8th, The Low Countries, Sir Walter Mildmay; 22nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Sussex; 29th, Sir Henry Wodrington, Lord Scroope; 30th, Mr. Selby, the Low Countries; 31st, Lord Scroope.

Letters sent to—1st, The Lord Chamberlain; 2nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 3rd, Lord Cobham; 4th, The Low Countries, Berwick, Sir Walter Mildmay; 11th, Flanders; 21st, The Earls of Sussex and Shrewsbury; 29th, Sir Henry Wodrington, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, France.

SEPTEMBER. 1582.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Low Countries; 2nd, The Lord Willoughby; 3rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir George Cary, Mr. Selby; 11th, Sir George Cary, Mr. Bowes; 12th, Sir John Foster; 13th, Sir George Cary; 18th, Sir Walter Mild-

may; 19th, France, Sir Henry Wodrington, the Earl of Rutland, Mr. Selby; 21st, Sir George Cary; Mr. Bowes; 22nd, Sir John Foster; 24th, Sir George Cary, Mr. Bowes, Sir John Foster; 25th, Sir George Cary, Mr. Bowes.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir George Cary, Sir Walter Mildmay; 2nd, The Low Countries; 8th, France, the Low Countries, Scotland; 9th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 11th, Sir George Cary, Mr. Bowes; 13th, Sir George Cary, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir John Foster, Mr. Randolphe; 15th, The Marshal of Berwick, Sir George Cary, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Rutland; 18th, The Lord Chief Baron; 21st, Sir George Cary, Mr. Bowes; 22nd, Sir John Foster, the Low Countries; 26th, The Earls of Shrewsbury and Rutland, France.

October. 1582.

Letters received from—1st, Sir George Carey, Mr. Bowes; 3rd, Sir George Carey, Mr. Bowes; 4th, Sir George Carey; 5th, Ireland, Sir Walter Mildmay; 9th, France, Scotland; 11th, Sir George Cary, the Low Countries; 12th, Ireland; 15th, Scotland; 16th, Scotland, Ireland; 22nd, Mr. Bowes; 23rd, Mr. Bowes.

Letters sent to—2nd, Ireland; 5th, Mr. Randolph, Ware; 6th, Sir George Carey, Mr. Bowes; 7th, Sir George Carey, Mr. Randolphe, Mr. Fanshawe; 11th, Sir George Carey; 13th, The Low Countries; 18th, Mr. Bowes; 19th, France, Lord Cobham, the Lieutenant of Dover; 20th, The Low Countries; 22nd, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

November. 1582.

Letters received from—1st, Ireland; 4th, France; 5th, Mr. Bowes; 6th, Mr. Bowes; 11th, Mr. Bowes; 13th, Mr. Bowes; 18th, Scotland, the Low Countries; 21st, Mr. Bowes; 25th, France;

26th, The Low Countries; 27th, Dover, Mr. Bowes; 30th, France, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Letters sent to—3rd, Ireland; 9th, France, Mr. Bowes; 10th, Ireland; 15th, Mr. Bowes, Lord Scroope; 16th, Mr. Randolphe, Lord Cobham; 18th, The Low Countries; 21st, Ireland; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 28th, France.

DECEMBER. 1582.

Letters received from—2nd, The Low Countries, Mr. Bowes, the Archbp. of York, Lord Scroope, the Earl of Rutland; 6th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 12th, Mr. Bowes, France; 13th, Mr. Bowes, Dover, Lord Cobham; 16th, Mr. Bowes; 19th, Mr. Bowes; 21st, Mr. Bowes; 22nd, The Low Countries, Ireland; 24th, Mr. Bowes; 26th, Mr. Andersone of Newcastle; 27th, Dover; 28th, Mr. Davison, Mr. Bowes; 29th, Dover; 30th, Dover, France.

Letters sent to—1st, The Low Countries; 2nd, Dover, the Lord Treasurer; 3rd, Mr. Bowes, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Mayor of Newcastle; 6th, The Earl of Huntingdon, Ireland; 11th, The Earl of Huntingdon; 14th, Dover, Lord Cobham, France; 15th, Mr. Bowes; 17th, Ireland; 25th, Ireland; 27th, Dover, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Anderson; 28th, Mr. Davison, Mr. Beale; 30th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison, Capt. Case, Mr. Selby.

JANUARY. 1583.

Letters received from—1st, The Earl of Huntingdon, Capt. Case, Mr. Selby; 3rd, Sir Henry Wodrington; 4th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Selby, the Low Countries, Germany, Mr. Davison; 5th, Sir John Foster, Mr. Davison, the Low Countries; 8th, Sir George Carey; 10th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 11th, Flanders, Germany; 12th, Ireland, France, Flanders; 13th, Mr. Bowes; 14th, France, Scotland; 16th, The Low Countries,

Dover; 17th, The Low Countries; 22nd, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 24th, Sir W. Russell; 25th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 26th, The Low Countries; 28th, The Low Countries, France; 31st, France, Flanders.

Letters sent to—1st, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 4th, France; 5th, The Low Countries; 6th, Sir John Foster, Mr. Randolph; 8th, Sir George Carey, Dover, Mr. Wotton; 9th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 10th, Flanders, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 12th, Mr. Wotton at Gravesend, Sir George Carey; 17th, Dover; 24th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 26th, The Low Countries; 27th, Sir John Foster; 29th, Scotland, Dover; 30th, The Earl of Ormond.

FEBRUARY. 1583.

Letters received from—2nd, Ireland; 3rd, Lord Scroope, the Low Countries; 5th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 7th, Lord Scroope; 12th, France, Scotland; 16th, The Low Countries, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 17th, Mr. Darcy, Ireland; 18th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 20th, France, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison, the Dean of York, Mr. Cheeke; 21st, The Mayor and Searcher of Dover; 26th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 27th, The Earl of Derby.

Letters sent to—4th, Ireland, France; 6th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison, Lord Scroope, Sir John Foster; 10th, The Low Countries; 14th, The Dean of York, Mr. Cheeke; 18th, Flanders; 20th, Scotland; 23rd, The Mayor and Searcher of Dover, France; 24th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 25th, Lord Scroope; 27th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison.

MARCH. 1583.

Letters received from—2nd, Lord Scroope, Flanders; 3rd, The Low Countries, France; 6th, France, Ireland; 10th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 13th, The Low Countries; 14th, Sir

John Foster; 15th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 16th, Lord Scroope; 19th, France; 22nd, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison, the Bishop of Durham; 24th, The Low Countries; 25th, Ireland; 26th, Mr. Fenton in Munster; 27th, Mr. Boys in Kent; 29th, Dover; 30th, France, the Earl of Shrewsbury; 31st, France, Flanders.

Letters sent to—2nd, Mr. Davison, Mr. Bowes, Sir John Foster; 4th, Ireland; 5th, The Earl of Ormond; 9th, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Davison; 14th, France, Scotland; 15th, Lord Cobham; 16th, The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Low Countries; 25th, The Earl of Ormond; 29th, France, Scotland, the Bishop of Durham.

APRIL. 1583.

Letters received from—3rd, Scotland, the Bp. of Durham, Rouen; 5th, Mr. Sommers; 11th, Ireland; 13th, Mr. Bowes; 14th, Ireland; 16th, Mr. Sommers; 18th, France, Flanders; 23rd, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 24th, Lord Scroope; 28th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 29th, Mr. Bowes.

Letters sent to—4th, France, the Lieutenant of Dover; 7th, The Earl of Shrewsbury; 8th, Dover; 12th, The Lieutenant of Dover, the Earl of Rutland; 16th, Scotland, Dover, M. du Baix; 17th, Flanders; 25th, Mr. Bowes; 26th, The Earl of Shrewsbury.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING

ON THE 2ND MAY 1870.

THE Council of the Camden Society elected on the 1st May 1869 has to regret the loss which the Society has sustained during the past year by the death of some of its oldest and most valued Members, as the following List will show:—

REV JOHN BESLY, D.C L.
LEONARD SHELFORD BIDWELL, Esq., F.S.A.
THE REV. GUY BRYAN, M.A., F.S.A.
THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.
THE LORD FOLEY.
SIR C. WENTWORTH DILKE, Bart., LL.B.
JOHN SMITH, Esq.
THE LORD TAUNTON.
THE REV. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., M.R.I.A.
THE MARQUESS OF WESTMINSTER.
SIR CHARLES G. YOUNG, Garter, F.S.A.

To this List has to be added the name of the late Director of the Society, MR. BRUCE, who, from the 2nd March, 1838, the day on which the Society was founded, up to the moment of his sudden and lamented death on the 28th of October last, may be said to have been the ruling spirit of the Society. There were many reasons why this should have been so. His thorough acquaintance with the objects for which the Society was established fitted him in an eminent degree to advise the Council in its choice of publications. His thorough business habits enabled him to order the financial arrangements of the Society on the basis which has done so much to ensure its permanency; while his general good judgment,

courtesy, and temper secured ready attention to his suggestions, and gained for him the warm personal regard of all who were associated with him. He was the first Treasurer, and for nineteen years the Director, of the Society. He edited its first publication, which was followed up by a dozen others, many of them among the most valuable contributions to our National History which the Society has given to the world; and, in addition, he contributed several papers to the Miscellany, and rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of a large proportion of other volumes of the Camden publications. In Mr. Bruce every member of the Society has been deprived of one to whom he was personally indebted; while his loss will long be mourned by all who had the happiness to enjoy the friendship of a man who was no less distinguished as an accomplished scholar than as a Christian gentleman.

The following Books have been issued to the Members since the last Meeting:—

I. A Spanish Account of the Proposed Marriage between Charles Prince of Wales and the Infanta; by Francisco de Jesus. Edited, with a Translation, by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, Esq.

The value of this work will be at once recognised when it is stated that it may be considered as the first argument from the Spanish side on the subject of this important event, and that the evidence of MSS. preserved in the archives of Simancas shows that it may be safely regarded as a trustworthy narrative of the facts of the case as they would naturally appear to a Spanish Catholic.

This was followed by

II. Notes taken by Sir John Borough, Garter King of Arms, of the Treaty carried on at Ripon between King Charles I. and the Covenanters of Scotland, A.D. 1640. Edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.

in which the late Director gave the Society the first fruits of his researches among the historical records at Crowcombe Court. The document is in itself of great interest, but its value has been considerably enhanced by the Editor's preface, which is one of those instructive and exhaustive essays

which, like the prefaces to his Calendars of State Papers, serve to show how much English history would have gained had he made one period of it the subject of a distinct and original work.

This was followed by

III. Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow from the 27th Henry VIII. (1540) to the end of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A. F.S.A.

which, though chiefly of interest to local antiquaries, is not without its peculiar value for students of our Church History and Social Progress.

The works which it is proposed to issue to the Members during the ensuing year are

I. Henry Elsynge's Notes of Proceedings in the House of Lords during the session of 1621. From the original MSS. in the possession of Colonel Carew, of Crowcombe Court, Somerset. To be edited by SAMUEL R. GARDINER, Esq.

II. Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter A.D. 1447—1450. To be edited by STEWART A. MOORE, Esq.

III. A Collection of Original Letters of the Trevelyan Family. To be edited by Sir WALTER TREVELYAN, Bart., from the originals in the possession of the Editor.

By Colonel Carew's kind permission copies are being taken of the remaining volumes of Elsynge's Notes extending over the Parliaments of 1624, 1626, and the first session of the Parliament of 1628, and throwing new light upon the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham and the Petition of Right.

The following Works have been added to the list of Suggested Publications during the past year :—

I. A Series of Letters of the time of James the First, from the original MSS. formerly belonging to Mr. John Packer, secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, now in the possession of the Honourable G. M. Fortescue. To be edited by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, Esq.

II. The Examination of Wycherley, a Conjuror in the time of Edward VI. from the original in the Lansdowne Library in the British Museum. To be edited by Dr. RIMBAULT.

III. The Life of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, from a MS. in the Ashmolean Library. To be edited by Mrs. Everett Green.

The Council have great satisfaction in announcing to the Members that the General Index to the first hundred volumes of the Society's publications is making steady, and, looking to the nature and character of the work, rapid progress. Mr. Gough, to whose experienced hands the labour has been entrusted, reports that the Index to forty of the Volumes is completed; that seventeen others are in various states of progress; while forty-three are not commenced. He considers that one half of his labour is performed, and hopes that the latter half may be even more rapidly accomplished. The extent to which the value and utility of the Camden publications will be increased by means of this General Index are too obvious to call for comment, and the Council anticipates with great satisfaction the completion of this important work.

The Council of last year congratulated the Society on the issue of a Royal Commission for the inspection of Historical Documents in private hands, as calculated to give an impetus to the cause in which this Society feels so deep an interest. That Commission has issued its first Report, and the satisfaction with which this Society looked upon the establishment of the Commission is more than justified by its results. The vast mass of historical papers which the Historical Documents Commission has brought under public notice is enormous. Some of these may possibly be printed by the Government; but there is little doubt that many may owe their publication to the skill of Camden Editors and the funds of the Camden Society.

In view of the work before them the Council has great satisfaction in being able to refer to the Report of the Auditors for proof of the improved financial condition of the Society.

Signed, by order of the Council,
SAMUEL R. GARDINER, Director.
WILLIAM J. THOMS, Hon. Sec.

Dated the 30th April 1870.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, re to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an Account of the Receipts Expenditure from the 1st of April 1869 to the 31st of March 1870, and that have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the s to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts Expenditure during the period we have mentioned.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
To Balance of last year's account..	119	15	0
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in arrear at last Audit	85	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on the 1st of May, 1869....	232	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on the 1st of May, 1870....	16	0	0
To one Composition in lieu of Annual Subscription (H. Gough) ..	10	0	0
One year's dividend on £1016 3 1 3 per Cent. Consols, standing in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting Income Tax..	29	17	0
To Sale of the Publications of past years	33	7	7
To Sale of Promptorium Parvulorum (3 vols. in 1)	4	18	0
	£530	17	7

Expenditure.	£	
Paid for 2 Woodcuts, Dingley's History from Marble	1	1
Paid for printing 500 copies, Vol. 100, Treaty at Ripon	40	
Paid for binding 400 copies of ditto	12	1
Paid for printing 500 copies, Vol. 101, Spanish Marriage Treaty	122	
Paid for binding 500 copies of ditto	20	
Paid for printing 500 copies Vol. 102, Churchwardens' Accounts at Ludlow	56	
Paid for binding 400 copies of ditto	14	
Paid for binding 50 copies, Vol. 75, State Papers relating to Milton.....	1	1
Paid for Paper	15	1
Paid for Miscellaneous Printing.....	17	1
Paid for delivery and transmission of Books, with paper for wrappers, warehousing expenses, &c. (including Insurance)	26	
Paid for Advertisements	8	1
Paid for Transcripts	17	1
Paid for postage of Reports circulated	3	1
Paid Mr. H. Gough (further payment on account of General Index)	110	
Paid for postages, tin box for papers, collecting, country expenses, &c.	8	1
By Balance	53	
	£530	1

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us, over and above the present balance of £53 7s. 8d. there are outstanding various scriptions of Foreign Members, and of Members resident at a distance from Lon which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will shortly be received.

Hen. Hill.
J. W. Cosens. } *Auditor*

30*th April*, 1870.

Camden Society,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

Early Historical and Literary Remains.

President.

SIR WILLIAM TITE, M.P., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

Council.

ELECTED MAY 1, 1870.

WILLIAM CHAPPELL, ESQ. F.S.A., *Treasurer.*
JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ. F.S.A.
WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, ESQ. F.S.A.
JOHN FORSTER, ESQ. D.C.L.
EDWARD FOSS, ESQ. F.S.A.
SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, ESQ, *Director.*
THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HALE, D.D.
SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.
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EDWARD RIMBAULT, ESQ. LL.D.
EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ. M.A., F.S.A.
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